

THE
MISCELLANEOUS
WORKS

Of that Eminent Statesman
Francis Osborn, Esq;

IN TWO VOLUMES.

CONTAINING

- | | |
|--|--|
| ADVICE TO A SON. In
Two Parts. | Upon <i>Gustavus Adolphus's</i>
Descent into Germany. |
| I. Essays, Paradoxes, Pro-
blematical Discourses,
Letters, Characters, &c. | Upon <i>Piso</i> and <i>Vindex</i> ,
who conspir'd the Death
of <i>Nero</i> . A Vindication
of <i>Martin Luther</i> , &c. |
| II. Select Discourses upon
the Politicks of <i>Machiavel</i> . | IV. VERSES upon several
Occasions. |
-

THE ELEVENTH EDITION.

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SOME
MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE
OF
Francis Osborn, Esq;



THAT the Lives of eminent Writers should be a *Clavis* to their Works, Custom has not made more fashionable, than Use does requisite : For after all the Philosophick Advice to weigh the Value of what is said, without any Poize

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from the Authority of the Speaker ; a Reception (tho' not the Nature) of Truths depends much upon the Character of Him who delivers them : So that the same Argument, managed to the same Advantage, shall, by a Respect to the Writer, be obliged with Attention and Caress, or else by a Misconceit, be pre-judged to Scorn and Neglect. The Consequence of this must farther be, That those Drudges for the Publick, whose Names and Reputation are yet obscure, ought in Policy to lie concealed ; lest their Meanness, when discovered, prejudice their Attempts : While of such again, whose open Esteem can secure an Acceptance of whatever they Publish, it is their Prudence to own their Writings ; and it is their Interest, as much as Honesty, to legitimate their Issue, where the Dignity of the Parent will be entailed on the Offspring. This justifies the Sincerity of Mr. OSBORN, that while living, he dared Father whatever was the result of his honest Pen ; and this accounts for the greater Convenience of prefixing his *Life* to his *Works*, since a Knowledge
of

FRANCIS OSBORN *Esq;* V
of his Deserts will be sure to put an Estimate upon his Labours. *

FRANCIS OSBORN *Esq;* was younger Brother to Sir PETER OSBORN (both Sons of Sir JOHN OSBORN of *Chicksand* near *Shefford* in *Bedfordshire*) his Grandfather and Father, he tells us, *did both enjoy a quiet, happy, and plentiful Fortune under Queen ELIZABETH.* And Sir HENRY LEE, who flourished in the same Reign, *was nearly allied to his Grandmother.* † He laments that he was bred at Home, not so much as in a *Free-School*, or *University*, being altogether void of such kind of Faculties that such Seminaries afford: ‘ At ripe Years he frequented the Court, became a *Steward* in the *Pembrochian-Family*, ‘ and at length *Master of the Horse* to that ‘ most noble Count, *William Earl of Pembroke.* *

* See the *Life of Pliny*, 8vo. 1686.

† See *Traditional Memoirs on the Reign of Queen ELIZABETH.*

* See *Wood's Athen. Oxon.*

vj *Memoirs of the LIFE of*

IN the Year 1641. he had several *Publick Employments* conferred upon him ; and the Father of *Felton*, who stabbed the Duke of *Buckingham*, served him, in the *Office of Remembrance*, for many Years ||. In the latter Part of his Life he retired to *Oxford*, purposely to print *several Tracts* of his Composition that then lay by him; and to have an Eye upon his Son, for whom, *Anno 1648*, he had procured a Fellowship of *All-Souls College*.

HIS *Advice to a Son* was first printed at *Oxford*, *Anno 1656*, without any Name, and within two Years after, were Five more Impressions of it. This Work was greedily bought up, and admired in the *University*, especially by young Scholars.

WELL might the Writings of a Gentleman be greedily bought up, who proceeded upon such unerring Rules! For in his short, but excellent, *Dissertation*, concerning the *Uncertainty of History*, he acquaints

|| See 2d Part of *Advice to a Son*. §. 45.

FRANCIS OSBORN, *Esq*; vij
his SON, that the following, was the Plan,
which he always persued.

‘ FOR my own particular, (*says he*)
‘ as *History* hath been the chiefest of my
‘ Employment, so I shall extend no *Cen-*
‘ *sure* beyond what I have found; which
‘ is so little of Certainty, as I rest quite
‘ unsatisfied, especially where many do
‘ relate to one and the same Time: a Cloud
‘ of Witnesses, by reason of their manifest
‘ Clashings and Contradictions, rather
‘ darkening than clearing the Ways of
‘ Truth: so as we cannot credit Books in
‘ Matter of Fact, farther than they relate
‘ to Names, which is an useless Sound to
‘ those that never did converse with the
‘ Persons: yet are in this so far to seek,
‘ as to leave us divers Founders for one and
‘ the same City, and as many Cities for the
‘ Birth of one and the same Man.* This
‘ may advise you not to follow *History*
‘ beyond the Pillars of Possibility; no
‘ more than to count Controversy binding,
‘ but where she leaves no room for Reply.†

* Homer. † See Advice to a Son, 2d Part, § 24.

viiij *Memoirs on the LIFE of*

Xet, such was the stupid Enthusiasm of those Times, that we are told, || That this Tract

*‘ was noted among the godly Ministers, as
‘ a Piece that did instil Principles of Atheism
‘ into them. Whereupon a publick Com-
‘ plaint being put up against this Book, to
‘ the then Vice-Chancellor, Dr. John Conant,
‘ there was a Proposal made to have it
‘ publicly burnt: But that taking no Effect,
‘ the Complainants by wresting some par-
‘ ticular Passages, and tiring out the Pati-
‘ ence of the good Vice-Chancellor, who
‘ was a Man of great Probity and Learn-
‘ ing, did at length procure, July 27.
‘ 1658, an Order, that no Bookseller, or
‘ any other Persons, should sell this Book,
‘ which made it, as in all such Cases,
‘ spread the more.*

Now what regard can Posterity pay to the Actions of these *High-Nosed-Hypocrites*, (as Mr. Osborn justly stiles them) whose false Scent, made them run a-muck upon All, who would not chime in with their ridiculous, enthusiastick Cant?

|| See Athen. Oxon. ut supra.

HERE

HERE is a Book noted among the *Godly Ministers*, as a *Piece* that did instil *Principles* of *Atheism*; in the Conclusion of which *Piece*, the Author thus judiciously explodes such pernicious Tenets. ‘ I acknowledge
 ‘ (*says he*) a *Divine* and *Universal Providence*; but abominate Those that have
 ‘ the Impudence, no less than the Indiscretion to *deny* it openly in their Words,
 ‘ or tacitly in their Actions; as such cannot but be thought to do, that destroy
 ‘ others under a Pretence of *Sanctity*,
 ‘ merely to enrich themselves; who deny
 ‘ GOD no less in his Justice, than the
 ‘ other in his Power. Since without a
 ‘ Creator, Man must be the Product of a
 ‘ Contingency, together with all things
 ‘ extant, if not the Maker of himself; or
 ‘ which is as prodigious an Absurdity,
 ‘ *Nothing*, out of its own Strength, must
 ‘ have produced *all Things*.—— If Men
 ‘ cannot, by a serious Reflection upon
 ‘ their own Affairs, distinguish the *Operations* of *Providence* from those of *Contingency*;

x *Memoirs of the LIFE of*

‘ gency; yet since it is the most universal
‘ Opinion, and for aught ever I could
‘ hear objected to the contrary, the least
‘ obstructed from *Reason* or *Consent*, That
‘ every Creature holds its Production, no
‘ less than Preservation, at the Will of an
‘ Omnipotency, by us stiled *GOD*; tho’
‘ the Ways how he operates be beyond our
‘ fathom, and past finding out, why should
‘ not *Credulity* rest at the Brink of this A-
‘ byss, (by all acknowledged the least dan-
‘ gerous) rather than hazard all hope of fu-
‘ ture *Beatitude* in the uncomfortable Gulph
‘ of a *wretchless Atheism*.—— Nor can we
‘ be competent Judges of the *Motions* of
‘ *God*, that have nothing to measure by,
‘ but *Sense*, much too weak to discern the
‘ Motion of a *Shadow* or the Growth of a
‘ *Plant*, till Time has rendered them ap-
‘ parent; wherefore far unable to com-
‘ prehend the *Lines* of *Providence*, in-
‘ perceptible to every Intelligence but
‘ *His*, who hath the sole Disposure of all
‘ *Things*. It not being probable Man
‘ should comprehend the *Out-goings* of *GOD*,
whilst

FRANCIS OSBORN, *Esq;* xj
‘ whilst he is not able to give any Reason
‘ for his own *.

THIS will, we hope, be sufficient to clear the Memory of Mr. OSBORN, from the false Imputation of these Godly Ministers, as well as convince the Publick, how little such a Work as the *Athenæ Oxonienses* ought to be regarded by the *Impartial*, wherein the *Writings* and *Askes* of the best of Men are so miserably traduced through the implacable Malevolence of such a Party-Zeal, as Mr. Wood every where, and in all Cases right or wrong, so warmly espouses; tho’ later Times have shown, that the *implicit* and *groundless* Credulity of Men of his Principles, pushed on by a greater Precipitation of Heat than Judgment, has always terminated in their own Disappointment.

BUT Mr. OSBORN is not to be yet acquitted, for Mr. Wood thus proceeds,
‘ — There was (*says he*) a Dialogue
‘ of

* Advice to a Son, 2d Part.

xij *Memoirs of the LIFE of*

‘ of *Polygamy*, (said to be) written origi-
‘ nally in *Italian*, and rendered into *Eng-*
‘ *lish* by a Person of Quality ; and Dedi-
‘ cated to the Author of that well-known
‘ Treatise called, *Advice to a Son*. Dr. Bar-
‘ low, Bishop of *Lincoln*, saith, That it
‘ was suspected, that FRANCIS OS-
‘ BORN, an old *Atheistical Courtier* living
‘ in *Oxford*, 1657, did translate that Dia-
‘ logue, and Dedicate it to himself. It
‘ was printed at *London* in 8vo, in the
‘ Year 1657 *.

• THAT this Calumny may have the
greater Weight, a Bishop is made the Au-
thor of it ; but as Mr. *Wood* does not
point out in what Tract of Bishop *Bar-*
low’s this Charge against Mr. OSBORN
is to be found ; I am the rather inclined
to believe his Lordship innocent of so false
and vile an Aspersion. But if any one will
trust to Mr. *Wood*’s Relation of this Fact,
and can believe that the Bishop ever said

or

* See *Athen. Oxon.* ut supra.

FRANCIS OSBORN, *Esq*, xiiij
or published such an Insinuation, in any of
his Writings ; then, as it ought, be the
just Stain of such a Reproach both upon
the Memory of the *Speaker* and *Recorder*.

To represent this Matter impartially
to the Reader, I shall first give some Ac-
count of the Author of this *Dialogue* ; and
next, of the *Translation* of it into *English*.
The Writer of this *Piece* in *Italian*, was
‘ * *Bernardinus Ochinus*, a Native of *Siena*,
‘ a City of *Tuscany* in *Italy*. He was
‘ bred a Fryar, and having an acute Wit,
‘ proved an excellent Scholar ; and in
‘ Process of Time, God so opened his
‘ Eyes, that he discovered the Impostures
‘ and Idolatries of Popery, and thereupon
‘ left his Convent and the *Romish* Church
‘ together, and retired for Safety and far-
‘ ther Edification among the Reformed
‘ Churches of *Switzerland* and *Geneva*, in
‘ 1543. He wrote several ingenious
‘ Treatises, by way of Dialogue, in the

ha-

† See The Translation of the Dialogue of POLY-
GAMY, *Pref*.

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‘ *Italian Tongue ; His Dialogues touch-*
‘ *ing Predestination, were translated into*
‘ *English, and printed either in the Days*
‘ *of King EDWARD VI. or about the*
‘ *Beginning of the Reign of Queen*
‘ *ELIZABETH. After his forsaking*
‘ *the Papacy, he entered into the State of*
‘ *Marriage, and Died in Poland.*

I shall now recite the Dedication to
Mr. Osborn, from whence this Calumny
arises, viz.

‘ *To that Ingenious, Judicious, Free-Spirited*
‘ *Gentleman, the Author of that well-known*
‘ *Book, lately published under the Title of*
‘ *ADVICE to a SON.*

Worthy Sir,

‘ **H**AVING rendered this short Discourse
‘ of *Polygamy into English ; I could*
‘ not devise to whom I might more
‘ fitly dedicate the same, than to your
‘ ingenious and free-spirited Self, and in,
‘ and by you, to all other Gentlemen
‘ of like noble and manly Temper, so
‘ much

FRANCIS OSBORN, *Esq*; xv

‘ much (and that deservedly) magnified
‘ by *Charron* in his Book of Wisdom, as a
‘ principal Accomplishment of that *wise*
‘ *Man*, whom he so excellently describes ;
‘ for indeed this Treatise requires such
‘ Readers. As for pedantic and vulgar
‘ Spirits, I warn them to stand aloof, lest
‘ they break their Shins upon it, make
‘ sower Faces, and haul upon the Author
‘ a thousand Censures and Reproaches,
‘ part of whose Burthen I am like to bear
‘ for teaching him to speak *English*. Yet
‘ the Discourse itself, asserts nothing po-
‘ sitively, determines nothing, only, the
‘ *chief* and *most considerable*, if not *all*, the
‘ *Texts* of Holy Scripture, and Arguments
‘ from Reason, and the Laws and Cu-
‘ stoms of Nations, that have been, or
‘ can be brought for, or against *Polygamy*,
‘ are urged and answered interchangeably,
‘ by the *two Persons* of the *Dialogue* ; and
‘ the Author being *one*, is a stiff Pleader
‘ for MONOGAMY, and Fighter against
‘ POLYGAMY. The Point itself is left
‘ *free* and *undetermined*, to the Understand-
‘ ing and Conscience of the serious and
‘ judicious

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judicious Reader ; and therefore, I
know not why any discreet Person,
(whatever he thinks of the Point) should
find himself offended at this *Discourse* :
but that, as it was publickly printed at
Bafil, a renowned Protestant City in
Switzerland, in the Year 1563. so it may
in our famous *London*, without Offence
to a judicious Reader : And the Bless-
ing of GOD, Almighty and only Wise,
go along with it. *Amen.*

It remains now, that we examine and
refute the Particulars of this Charge :
First, Mr. *Wood* affirms, That there was
a *Dialogue of POLYGAMY*, printed at
London, in *Octavo*, 1657. by which he
would insinuate, That this *Traet* is an In-
centive to, or Defence of that *Vice*. And
Secondly, That the *Translator* of it had just-
ly incurred the *Odium of Atheism*.

Now we desire it may be observed ;
1. That this *Dialogue of Polygamy* was so
far from being perused either by Bishop
Barlow, or Mr. *Wood*, that it is highly
reason-

FRANCIS OSBORN, *Esq*; xvij
reasonable to be supposed neither of them
ever saw it ; for it is not printed in *Octa-*
vo, but *Duodecimo* ; and there is subjoined
to it another *Dialogue of DIVORCE* which
Mr. *Wood* has not (either through Ignorance or Malice) thought fit to mention:
2. That the *Dialogue of Polygamy*, as well
as that of *Divorce*, are judicious Repre-
hensions of the Vices of *Polygamy* and *A-*
dultery ; and the former is entirely conso-
nant to the Account given of it by the
Dedicator.

LASTLY, These *two Tracts* have not
any Mark of their being translated by
Mr. OSBORN ; for besides that the Style
does not bear the least semblance to any of
his Writings ; the Compliments bestowed
by the *Translator* upon *him*, are wholly in-
consistent with that vein of Modesty which
is every where seen throughout all his
Works ; and the Conclusion of his *AD-*
VICE to a SON, which we have above
recited, must in the Eyes of all good Men
fully clear him from ever having had the
least tendency towards *Atheistical Principles*,
and

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and defend his Memory from Mr. *Wood's* notorious Collection of Falshoods, who farther concludes his Account of this Gentleman with an invidious Sarcaſm, and Three groſs Blunders, viz. ' As for ' *Francis Osborn*, he Died at *Nether-Worton*, ' near to *Dedington* in *Oxfordſhire*, in the ' House of *William Draper*, Eſq; (an *Oli-* ' *verian* Colonel, whoſe Siſter he had mar- ' ried) on the 11th of *February*, 1673. ' aged LXX, or thereabouts, and was ' buried in the Church there. Over his ' Grave is a Monument with an In- ' ſcription *.

1. IT WAS JOHN OSBORN, Eſq; (the Son of our Author *Francis*) who married the Daughter (not Siſter) of *William Draper*, Eſq; and who died in the honourable Poſt of *King's Serjeant at Law* in the Kingdom of *Ireland*.

2. FRANCIS OSBORN, Eſq; died the 4th of *February*, in the 65th Year of his Age.

3. THERE

3. **T**H E R E is no Monument over his Grave, it being manifestly against his Inclination, as appears by his Epitaph, composed by himself, and which is cut upon a flat Grave-Stone ; for the Favour whereof we are obliged to a very Reverend and Worthy Clergyman in *Oxfordshire*, who sent us the following Letter.



SIR,

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SIR,

I Have examined Mr. OSBORN'S Grave-Stone, lying in the Chapel of Nether-Worton, and find upon it as follows, viz.

Here lieth FRANCIS OSBORN,
Who by his Wife ANNA, the Daughter of
WILLIAM — * Gent. had Issue
Three Daughters and one Son,
KATHARINE, FRANCES, DOROTHY and JOHN.
He was Born the 26th of Sept. 1593.
and Died the 4th of Feb. 1658-9.

*Besides this, there is an Epitaph, (but I
chuse to give it from his own Hand-Writing,
which by chance I found) viz.*

I envy not those Graves which take up Room,
Merely with Jett and Porphyry; since a Tomb
Adds no Desert. *Wisdom*, thou God Divine,
Convert my humble Soul into thy Shrine.
And then this Body, tho' it want a Stone,
Will dignify the Place where'er 'tis thrown.

* The Sirname is not legible.

FRANCIS OSBORN, *Esq*; xxj

*One thing I had like to have omitted, viz.
That there is no Account of Names registered
at this Place, from A. D. 1645, to 1695.
Wishing you Success, and a happy New Year,
I rest*

Yours to serve,

Jan. 3.
17²¹/₂₂.



Traditional

FRANCIS OSBORN, Esq.

One thing I had like to have omitted, viz.
that there is no record of Francis register
in this Place, from A.D. 1647. to 1697.
I hope you succeed, and a happy New Year.



Traditional



LETTERS

Written by

Francis Osborn Esq;

TO

Colonel WILLIAM DRAPER,

In the YEARS

1653, 1654, 1655, 1656, 1657.

Now first Printed from his ORIGINAL
MANUSCRIPTS.



LETTERS

Written by

Francis Osborn Esq;

TO



Colonel William Drake,

In the Year

1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857.

Now first printed from his Original Manuscripts.



TO THE
EDITOR
OF THE
NEW EDITION
OF
Mr. OSBORN'S Works.

S I R,



*Have been Abroad, or
had sent a more speedy
Answer to your last. I
have nothing by me of
Mr. Osborn's worth communica-
A 2 ting,*

4 To the EDITOR.

ting, but about a Dozen Letters, some of which are made imperfect by Time, and tumbling up and down. I shall take the Opportunity to send those Papers by the Hook-Norton Carrier, who Inns at the George on Snow-Hill. He will be there on Wednesday next, by the middle of the Day; his Name is Barret. I thank you for your kind Offer, and shall be glad of a Sett of Mr. Osborn's Works; they will come safe to me by the Bearer of the Letters. In haste, I rest,

Yours to command, &c.

Nether-Worton,

Jan. 20. 17²¹₂.

LET.



LETTER I.

TO

*My most Honoured Brother William
Draper Esq; at Nether-Worton,
in the County of Oxford.*

S I R,



THE principal Errand of this, is to let you know, we must void the House by our *Lady-Day*; that a Cart from you is daily expected. And in the mean time, to fill Paper, you may be pleased to know; that the Key of the Work which gives O. P. (for so he writes himself upon the Heads of Pardons) Hope to keep fast in the Saddle, lies in the Choice of the next Parliament; the Cause, all Parties are courted or terrified:

A 3

the

6 LETTERS *written*

the *Cavaliers*, by storying in their Ears the cruel Design of the last, in projecting them and the *Catholicks* for the Bearers and Defrayers of the Charges of the War. The *Anabaptists* by a Freedom to enjoy their Tenents, in case they will be quiet, and to that end a *Counsellor of State* shall still be chosen out of their Body to agitate for them, and another for the *Papist*; but if they refuse to hold the Stirrup, the first must expect the Treatment they had in *Germany*, the latter the whole Weight of the Law. But because the main stress of the Business lies upon the Clergy, They that are to Visit, have not only power to eject the Obnoxious (which comprehends all Spirits contrary to &c.) but to estate them for Life, are now but under the Contingency of a *Sequestration*. And to acquit them from all future Terror, there shall be a Super-intendant in every County, endowed with a Salary of 500 *l. per ann.* at least, whose Care shall be to protect the Church. Neither doth their Calling exempt their Persons from Election; the * Dean having already made an

* JOHN OWEN, Dean of *Christ-Church-College* in *Oxford*; he was a violent Pulpiteer for the *Good-Old-Cause*, and remarkably distinguished himself

during the Protectorship. 7

an open Demonstration he intends to serve for the University. And if Dr. *Gaudword* may be contented, or otherwise provided, *Owen*, of *St. John's*, must be his Collegue. Neither doth he endeavour less to extend his Influence over the whole Shire, and to that end the Sheriff hath been cajoled to bring Elections to such doors, as they are pleased to sprinkle with Favour. The Commissioner *Whitlock*, *William Lenthall*, Judge *Atkins*, and another, newly a Purchaser, I hear are joined with Sir *William Cobb*; which I wondering at, because of &c. I was answered, he was a Presbyterian, and an Impropiator, and so will be true to the Priests Interest, whatever he is to O. P. You ~~cannot~~ but believe me troubled to find your Name, and the best Friend living, left out; yet if my own Stake did not prevent me, I should be the most humblest Petitioner living to you both, not to leave your Nation in this Extremity; knowing you

himself in preaching IRETON's Funeral-Sermon; upon which Occasion, from *Dan. xii. 13.* (*But go thou thy way till the End be, for thou shalt rest, and stand in thy Lot at the end of the Days*) he expatiated upon the Virtues of the Deceased, not without some Blasphemy: (says *Anth. Wood* in his *Athen. Oxon.*)

8 LETTERS *written*

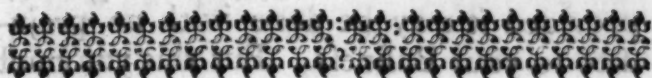
may, if you please, put your very able Capacity to serve her. Notwithstanding the kind Reception and Tears shed in behalf of our Noble Protector for Joy at the Embassadors Protestations; the Peace is not yet concluded, under pretence (as Report goes) that no SUCCESSION is declared; and that they are under fear of the Application of a Parliament, the Weapon that hurt them. If we should be beaten by the *Dutch*, God help, when we come to treat with the airy *Frenchman* and grave *Spaniard* *** shall next * * * * leave with my Son and Wife to pray for * * * * *

Your Servant,

Fr. Osborn.



LET-



LETTER II.

To the same.

Dear Brother,



Y Wife presents her Service to you, my Sister, and all yours, desiring the deferring coming any Day after Monday in *Easter-Week*; expecting, in the mean time, a Cart to carry the things. And now, Sir, since you are pleased to afford so candid an Interpretation to my *Politicks*, I am encouraged to give you the Trouble of a small Plot concerning myself. Next Week being likely to be very tedious to me, that (though ever an unhappy Wanderer) did never delight in packing, I would desire you, as moved out of your own Goodness, to send little *Brown* over with *Forster* †, or any quiet Horse else, to rescue me out

[† *The Name of a Hackney-Horse.*

A 5

of

10 LETTERS *written*

of the Dust on Thursday or Friday next ; provided it may be done with no prejudice to your Business. But this you must keep from your Sister with as much care as the *Dutch-Treaty*, which is said to go on invisibly ; yet this intoxicated People have lately presumed so far to blaspheme the just Procedure of our noble Protector, as to picture him with his Breeches down, shiting on a *Scot*, treading an *English* and *Irishman* under either foot ; whilst the prophane *Dutch* hold his sacred Beard, too often wagged towards Heaven to be out-nosed by them : a *Spaniard* kissing his Breech, with a *Frenchman* by him, whose word is, *Par Dieu, I'll kiss too*. The *Irish*, &c. are rather silent than satisfied, which if it does not recoil to a Renunciation of all *immoderate Power*, say your unfortunate Friend is more plunged to get out of a Hole, than he that lay in the Saw-pit, and now looks much worser than he did then. Now if you, and Men interested in the important and religious Care of your Country, will but fill up two or three Vacancies, all is well. The * *Dean* hath prayed already for a Blessing on the Proceedings of those to be employed in Gar-

* Owen.

during the Protectorship. 11

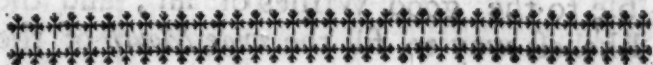
*telling the Church, amongst whom * * **
is now put in, and *Channell* left out. The
Clergy at present fear much, so do I, and
every one else, as we have Cause, from
those Managers, so much blown up by
the *Malignants*, who are encouraged to be
against the Felicity of this Nation. The
Dutch press (as to a Goal) to know the
Design or the Nature of his future Go-
vernment, wishing it an Overture of some
other to propose the *Protector's Issue*; not-
withstanding an Opposition of some am-
bitious Spirits, who are not a little start-
led, at this Juncture, what to think, and
have not observed all equally, though it
has proved to be the Exaltation of their
Fellows, and likewise to have been suita-
ble to the good Wishes of all; and the
likeliest way to fill the *wide Mouth* of the
STUARTS Claim, which can never
be stopped but under a severer Jurisdic-
tion. Neither will the *Butterboxes* be woo-
ed to swallow a *Treaty*, shall oblige them
to declare any more against that *Family*:
For the *Peace* can be no sooner made be-
tween us and the *STATE*, but the
Spaniard will shew his *Teeth*, and en-
deavour our Destruction, by strangling it
by the help of the *Turk*, nor will that, the
Emperor's Assistance be wanting: *Denmark*
and

12 LETTERS *written*

and *Sweden* signifying nothing, or little more now, to what the World doth, than their own Interest. The Result of my Thoughts is, that the Life or Death of the Protector's Interest will terminate in the next Parliament. I am in haste, yet cannot forget my noble Friend Mr. *Apple-tree*.

Yours, &c.

Fr. Osborn.



LETTER III.

* * * * * The Treaty which the Talk was to have been concluded in ten Days, quite to be despaired of * * * * * The *French* Protestants much boast * * * * * the Title of one come out of *France* to congratulate the

during the Protectorship. 13

the Protector * * * * according to
Mr. Stevens, whose patient *Pendarvis* * * *
The Clamour now is not for *Religion* or
Liberty, but whether *CHARLES* and
his Family shall succeed. The Catholicks
have, for certain, given Assurances to the
Lord Protector * since his Assumption, but
as yet unanswered. Any good Business
would be welcome; though not more than
to hear of your Health and my good
Sister's; which is the Desire of my Wife,
no less than of,

S I R,

Late, this present
Saturday, being,
as I take it, the

Your poor Brother,

13th of January,
1653-4.

and Servant,

Fr. Osborn.

* Dec. 16. 1653. Cromwell was installed Pro-
tector in Westminster-Hall.

L E T



LETTER IV.

*To the same.**Good Brother,*

THIS sudden, and to me most unfortunate Accident, hath made me uncertain what to resolve: Though I am peremptory, no less out of the Experience I have of the Treachery of Servants, than Dolefulness of living without her (that prized my Content equal, if not above her own) not to stay here. My Heart is set upon *Oxford*, where I hope to find some Estimation, if not Content; and in the mean time, encouraged by former Favours, and the kind Invitation you gave at your being in this doleful House, I have above all Places fixed upon *Nether-Worton* for my second Remove: presuming, if I should prove intolerable to you, I were not far from that Place I am confident I can live in, with as much Content as my Age and Condition

during the Protectorship. 15

Condition is capable of. I am now upon putting off all, which I hope will pay my Debts, being no more than the Hundred Pounds you are privy to, and what this Burial doth cost me : wherefore out of all doubt, of bringing more Trouble to any Place I come to, but what resides in my Infirmities, which I shall desire to temper ; this is all an unsteady Head can afford you, but an humble Suit to return an Answer, with your best Advice, to

Your Unfortunate Brother,

Kilden, Aug. 14.

and Servant,

Fr. Osborn.

P. S. My Son's Profession *, and Family-bridge †, will keep him in and about London. I cannot forget Mr. Appletree.

* A Lawyer.

† Estate.

L E T-



LETTER V.

*To the same.**Dear Brother,*

I Thought it most unpossible for any thing this World could afford, to have given me that Delight I found in yours; which I intend to keep by me, as one of the strongest Receipts I ever had against the Malignity of Fortune; who, I perceive by it, is no unjust a Giver than a Taker-away. Thus between an Astonishment at so much Goodness in this Iron Age, and the Contemplation of my present Condition, I stand so perplexed, as I dare not undertake such a Task he cannot but be liable to, who should endeavour the proportioning a Thanks to so great and unmerited a Favour: Wherefore I shall return to my present Condition, which is still to detain me in this abominated Place, with a dull Expectation of Chapmen,

during the Protectorship. 17

men *, out of which I apprehend small Hope of Deliverance. Nor shall I pass without some Weeks Trial what *London* can afford, to the lessening the small score of Days I am so miserable as to have yet upon my Account, which I could wish to sum up there or here, where Death is familiar ; and not, by my coming to you, give him occasion to visit a Family, where, in relation to you, or my dear Sister, he cannot appear without Horror to your Friends, and Pity in your greatest Enemies. These Considerations do so afflict me, as I could, like an Anchorite, dig my own Grave, and bury myself, desiring no more magnificent a Monument than the Continuance of your Love. But lest I should seem to want Manners or Wit to apprehend your Goodness and my own Conveniences, all inclusive in your noble Offer, I shall not fail at coming to Town (which is yet uncertain) to give you a farther Account of my Affairs ; who must confess himself like to endeavour, by * * * * * God and Man, to keep you in so happy a Condition, as * * * * * (truly you are) the only Comfort of,

Your most obliged Brother,

Fr. Osborn.

* To take his House.



LETTER VI.

To the same.

S I R,

 Hope the Ways will shortly prove good, and then you are likely to be troubled with me, who hath been busy about perfecting the *Second Part of Advice* *, to which I have been bold to affix your Name. All Men's Mouths here are full of a KING †, the

* *To a Son.*

† The Parliament which met Sept. 17. 1656. proposed to invest *Cromwell* with the Title of KING, who, after many Conferences with a Committee, appointed to debate that Matter, absolutely refused to accept of that Title, May 8. 1657. and the 26th of June following, his INAUGURATION was celebrated in *Westminster-Hall*. See *Clarendon's History*, *Octavo*, vol. 6.

Sheriff

during the Protectorship. 19

Sheriff (according to Report) having already Orders to proclaim him. I hear *Kelsey*, the old Governour of *Oxford*, is removed, with many more ; those formerly Preachers, or under particular Churches, being out of the present fashion in Esteem, the Protector carrying all afore him. *Denmark* is quite conquered by the *Swede*, and the *Dutch* at a Loss, from whom we lately took three Ships.

At the *Exchange* it is for certain reported, that all *Christian Princes*, no less than the *Turk*, do arm for the Summer following. I am in doubt of this, and so shall trust it with no more, than my Love to my dear Sister, and my Cousins ; who remain,

S I R,

Lond. Mar. 11.

Your Servant,

Fr. Osborn.

P. S. If you have any thing wherein I may serve you, I am here ready.

L E T-



LETTER VII.

*To the same.**Dear Brother,*

THE Sun begins to smile upon us, which makes me wish I were with you; who is so perfect a Citizen, that I doubt I shall hardly get out this Fortnight, if so soon; yet am desirous to know whether *Ailesbury, Oxford*, or what Place else you will assign for your Luggage to be left at, so as it may be convey'd to you with the least trouble. And in this I most humbly intreat you to be punctual in your Commands, that I may not add to the trouble of so noble a Friend, through mistake, who is sometimes in the mind to come on horseback, in three or four Days, if I could meet with one gentle and sure of foot. [Sir, if you had any occasion to pay 20 *l.* in

in London, I should be glad to do it, and receive the like Sum in the Country.] The last Night there was a general Search through the City, and all adjacent Places, and all Horses staid; the Reason above-board is, my Lord of *Ormond's being here, which some, no Fools, seem to believe; others, as wise, imagine no such matter, but that it is a Preparative for a great Tax, of which there is need enough, the Navy at Sea being more Money- than Wind-bound, or kept out for any &c. (good) they do; yet the Composition for Buildings goes not fiercely on, which makes some think he will not have many Paymasters for the next Sum shall be raised. What else to inform you of, I know not, who hath given the World quite over, as in relation to News, and have picked up this in the Shop †, to have something to keep company with you. I do more out

* Upon this Occasion, Cromwell sent for the Lord-Mayor and Aldermen, pretending to make a Discovery of a Plot of the Cavaliers, declaring that the Marquis of Ormond was sent over by the KING to countenance a general Insurrection. See, Lord Clarendon's History, 8vo. vol. 6th.

† In his own Office.

22 **LETTERS** *written*

of Respect, than any Desert, present you and my dear Sister with two Books, and some *Lovage Seed*, which is reported good for all Things; and if the Seed be new, will grow every where. I am confident, if the Court be afraid, as some represent it, 'tis without any extraordinary Cause more than hath been; which yet is only the Opinion of,

Dear Sir,

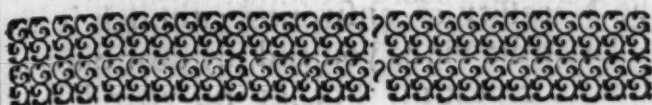
Your Obliged Brother,

Tower-street,
May 24. 1657.

Fr. Osborn.



LET-



LETTER VIII.

To the same.

Dear Brother,

THE hourly Expectation I have had of your happy Apparition in *London*, hath tempted me to this Silence, which, lest it should grow towards the Semblance of a Neglect, I desire you to know your Aunt is not likely to hold out long; and what witty *Charles* (who is indeed incomparable Company) may work upon Weakness, I leave to your more familiar, and therefore enabled to make bolder Conjectures. Thus much I have from him, that besides the Cessation of an Annuity, you are to have 30 *l. per Ann.* and my little Neice *Mary* 50 *l.* and farther than this the Deponent would not answer. It is like, all this is
im-

24 L E T T E R S *written*

impertinent, and so perhaps is all I can write in relation to you, which abates all the Necessity of answering; though it is a Duty from me to you and my dear Sister, often to repeat my Thanks for your kind Invitation, which nothing but my perpetual Pain of the Stone could obstruct my acceptance of. Now in the absence of State-News, as dead to me as *Herrings* or *Pilchards*, I shall be bold to tell you I am become a Prodigy, and if my Picture were drawn, might possibly drop Pence with a Puppet-Play. The truth is, many desire my Company, which I out of Tedioufness or Discretion avoid; only I am not unlikely, if able, to accept of a Gentleman's Invitation to *Chelsea* for fresh Air. My Landlord to me is incomparable, because I am able to fathom him, but my Landlady is inscrutable to any thing but Profit; and by shifting so often in Wantonness, is now fain to entertain all Comers; no small Inconvenience! I am content, upon *Robinson's* * Importunity, to affix my Name to this 6th Edition† he is

* His Bookseller at *Oxford*.

† Of the first Part of *Advice to a Son*,

about,

during the Protectorship. 25

about, by which all Claims will be cut off. There is another Piece of mine ready to peep abroad, but that Mr. Wood, my Midwife, is so taken up with raising an Estate in *Ireland*, as he cannot attend the Press. Dear Brother, you may guess by these Trifles I cast out to entertain your Thoughts about me, how overjoyed he would be to see and talk with you, who is unfeignedly, and without any other remoter Respects than pure Affection,

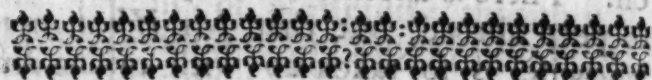
Tower-street,
about the 20th
of October.

Your obliged Brother,

Fr. Osborn.

P. S. I pray present my humble Service to your Lady, and my dear Sister, with all yours; and not to fail burning of this.

B L E T



LETTER IX.

To the same.

S I R,


 OUR Sister, no less than my-
 self, are so abundantly satisfied
 with the high Expressions of your
 charitable as well as natural Af-
 fection ; as neither my Wife, nor my own
 Gratitude, will give me leave to doubt
 of your Trouble, but that I must take
 this Opportunity to give you our most
 humble and hearty Thanks, being re-
 solved to wait upon you at *London*. But
 lest we should be there before you, my
 Wife desires a Note to your Lodging, and
 the Name of the Landlady. I met Mr.
Croke, who takes himself highly obliged
 to you for his Father, and had this Night
 the Proceedings of Sir *Robert Croke* * * *
 which, he saith, hath not so much Equi-
 ty

during the Protectorship. 27

ty in it nor Newness as is in ours. But
lest I should give you too much trouble
in vain, whom I must, under God, trust
to, I shall desire you to present our
Thanks to my dear Sister, and protest I
am not more out of hope of your Favour
than naturally,

Your most affectionate Brother,

11th of Sept. late.
*We think to go by
West's.*

And humble Servant,

Fr. Osborn.



B 2

LET



LETTER X.

To the same.

S I R,


 Had not given you this Trouble, but out of an Ignorance what Use you may at this time have of the Bearer's Fidelity, so far already justified, as though many wonder at your continuing alone, I find that nothing ever dropped from any might discover the Cause. I know your Wisdom too compleat to need any Advice of mine; yet I cannot but say, that *London* is no fit Storehouse for any Goods intended for a private Use; wherefore whether your Cushions be stuffed or empty, the Country is the best Place till, &c. Your S. is not able to grind his Designs into other Colours than yours left them. I
 am

during the Protectorship. 29

am at a stand : To wish you here, may be against your Content ; and to think the contrary, mine. I do verily believe *Ch.* is a faithful Servant, but may not unpossibly trespass upon your Score : But Merchants must leave the imbezelling their Goods to the Fidelity of the Packer. If my Son be able to travel, I should be glad to see him. I hope by this you can sleep, and afford another to tell you he loves, no less than resolves to continue always,

S I R,

Sunday. Your Servant,

Fr. Osborn.



B 3

LET-



LETTER XI.

To the same.

Dear Brother,

 Was last Night, after a wearisome two Days Journey, pigg'd out of the Hackney Coach at Oxford, where to my Joy, and your Honour, I hear your noble Entertainment by all celebrated, but especially your former Troop, in which, if I am not mistaken, lay no weak Policy. I was so detained with a Cold, the Epidemical Malady of the time, as I could not observe the Week I resolv'd on. Wherefore I shall with Patience attend, till you can, with the most Conveniency and least Trouble, send for your so unnecessary Lumber, that shall be at a Minute's warning ready to serve you. If it falls out you are at London, I would humbly desire

during the Protectorship. 318

desire my dear Sister to give herself no Trouble for my Remove, but to leave it to the best Opportunity shall be offered. I lie at Mr. Robinson's the Stationer, and find my old Acquaintance (at least in shew) glad to see me. Mr. Gataker I left at London, and Mrs. Mansbridge rather in a worse than better Condition than formerly. Dr. Hewytt * is committed, and all Mouths full of a High Court of Justice and a Parliament, things of such different Tempers as I cannot imagine compatible. Sir, I shall trouble you no farther, than that I will patiently expect your Leisure and best Conveniency to send for,

From Mr. Tho. Robinson's, a Stationer, by St. Mary's in Oxford, Apr. 27.

Your obliged Brother,

And humble Servant,

Fr. Osborn.

* Dr. Hewytt was committed, tryed, and executed, Anno 1657.

LET-

desire my dear Sister to give herself no
 Trouble for my Removal, but to leave it

LETTER XII.

To his Sister DRAPER..

Dear Sister,

LL your Children are well, both
 A at Home and at Grass. My Bro-
 ther's Gray Mare hath also pre-
 sented him with a sweet-faced
 Bay Filly, the Birth of which your Neigh-
 bour Mr. Sheppard came to congratulate,
 and doth expect no less from your Hus-
 band, in relation to the Delivery of one
 of his, gotten by the famous *Arabian*
Horse. I should here willingly conclude,
 sweet Sister, but that my *Essex-Lion* stands
 pawing over me, and, contrary to my Na-
 ture and often Profession, makes me the
 Trumpet of a sad Disaster, which is no
 less, than all the Linnen you appointed to
 be washed, is lost; the Napkins, Pillow-
 bers, and one Pair of flaxen Sheets ex-
 cepted,

during the Protectorship. 33

cepted, which were scarce enough to dry the Eyes of your Maids and the two Watchmen, if I may call them so, who were *John Hau*, and a Son of *Falkeners*. The Rogues that did it lay about the Town some Nights before, after whom we have sent, but to little purpose yet. My Wife had a share in the Loss, and but for a fore Hand of *Kate's*, we had been put beyond our shifts. *Great Nan* hath lost an Apron, my *Aunt* two Smocks, the Worth of which she values not so high, as the *Sin* she fears will be committed in them. To conclude, here is a sad House, though it happened the Night before this, or rather in the Morning, as they conceive. Never Lady heartily was ever wished for home more cordially than you, and if you, however, appear not to-day, we shall not know how to moderate the great Grief which has rebelled against us: Mine being to express (if I am able) my own Wishes; I am,

Sister,

Your Servant,

Fr. Osborn.



LETTER XIII.

To the same.

Most dear Sister,

THE Suddenness of my Loss *, with the great Expence I have been at to make this Place handsome, which by this means is rendered impossible for me to perform those Services to yourself and my good Brother, Nature no less than Custom might challenge in relation to Alliance, never lay so near my Heart. And though God, in his Mercy, hath not left me so miserable as to be burdensome to any but myself, yet my distracted Mind may force me to seek Diversions with some Friends : Amongst whose Number, my former Ex-

* The Death of his Wife.

during the Protectorship. 35

perience and Obligations renders you the first. Wherefore since it is all my Ambition to end my Days at *Oxford*, it is my humble Suit that you would dispense with the Trouble of your desolate Brother for some few Weeks, till I may accommodate myself somewhere else, submitting, in the mean time, to any Conditions you please to think fit, it being my Resolution (if possible) to be tedious or burdensome to none besides.

Kilden, *Aug. 14.*

F I N I S.



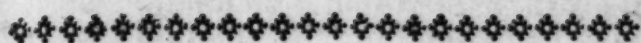
perience and Obligations renders you the
 last. Wherefore since it is all my Ambi-
 tion to end my Days at Oxford, it is my
 humble Suit that you would dispense
 with the Trouble of your dearest Bro-
 ther for some few Weeks, till I may ac-
 commodate myself somewhere else, till
 waiting, in the meantime, for any Con-
 ditions you please to think fit, it being
 my Resolution (if possible) to be tedious
 or burdensome to none besides.

Kilken, Aug. 14.

F 16 DE 17



perience.



ADVICE to a SON.

OR

DIRECTIONS for YOUR better
Conduct through the various and
most important Encounters of this
Life.

IN TWO PARTS.

UNDER

These General Heads.

I. STUDIES.

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III. TRAVEL.

IV. GOVERNMENT.

V. RELIGION, &c.

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T O T H E
R E A D E R.



*Such as make it their
Business, with the
Spider, to suck out the
Crudities and Corrup-
tions in Books, are
unlikely to fail of Matter here; yet
may come far short of the Credit and
Good that might accrue to themselves
and others, did they pore less on what
is really amiss, and more on that not
yet brought under a perfect Know-
ledge (impossible to be taken up pure
by those that begin but now to scam-
ble for it:) New Opinions, though
perhaps untrue, rather gaining than
losing Repute by Opposition. This
B 2 breeds*

To the Reader.

breeds matter of wonder, why so many should hazard their Fame, by running and yelping after those prodigious Wits of this last Age, B. D. H. &c. * Men not unable with Abner, to silence these swifter Writers with the Butt-end of their Quils; and so richly endowed from Nature, as they are able to Traffick upon their single Stock, without obliging the Credit of ancient Authors; who, for ought I know, were of poorer Parts, and might learn of them, were they in being. This is said to honour those that can take their pastime in the Depths of Reason; and not to shroud my poor Interest under theirs, whose Books deserve better Coverings that can be picked out of the choicest of my Papers, or theirs that have the impudence to traduce them. It cannot be denied, but that, in imitation of Sea-men, I may perhaps, by design, have cast out some empty stuff, to find play for the Whale-mouthed gapers after

* Duke of Buckingham, Dr. Donne, and Hudibras Mr. Butler being always call'd so by K. Charles II.

To the Reader.

after Levity; lest they should spoil the Voyage, which for the good of Posterity, I have so long made, beyond those Pillars; the liberty of these times hath afforded Wisdom a larger Passport to travel, than was ever able formerly to be obtained, when the World kept her fettered in an implicate Obedience, by the three-fold Cord of Custom, Education, and Ignorance.



To the Reader
 I have the honor to inform you that the
 first volume of the new edition of the
 works of the late Mr. John Locke is now
 published. It contains the same as the
 former edition, with some additions and
 corrections. The second volume is also
 now in the press, and will be published
 in a few days. The third volume is
 also in the press, and will be published
 in a few days. The fourth volume is
 also in the press, and will be published
 in a few days. The fifth volume is
 also in the press, and will be published
 in a few days. The sixth volume is
 also in the press, and will be published
 in a few days. The seventh volume is
 also in the press, and will be published
 in a few days. The eighth volume is
 also in the press, and will be published
 in a few days. The ninth volume is
 also in the press, and will be published
 in a few days. The tenth volume is
 also in the press, and will be published
 in a few days.



TO



T O H I S

S O N.*

Son,

I Have forbore to set *your Name* on the Forehead of these *Aphorisms*, not that I am ashamed either of *Them* or *You*; but for such like Reasons.

First, Because some *Truths*, I here endeavour to make legible, the Tyranny of *Custom* and *Policy* labours to conceal, as destructive to the Project of *Government*; and therefore unlikely to pass by wise Men, without a *formal Reproof*; who have been long since taught by unerring Experience, that *Ignorance draws with the least Reluctancy in the Yoke of Obedience*; being of so sheepish a Nature, as she is no bodies Foe but her own.

Next, to spare you the trouble of arming your Reason, in way of defence, upon

B 4

every

* To John Osborn, Esq;

To his SON.

every Alarm they may receive from the *Censures* of wiser or weaker Judgments: For not carrying the Marks of your particular Interest, you may stand, as it were, unseen, behind the Curtain of Indifferency, and hear, without blushing, the Opinions of others, if Chance or your Will should please to make Them the Object of their Discourse.

Amongst whom, if any accuse them, as too *cheap* and obvious; they are unadvised Questioners of their own Charter, in case they should be *Fathers*: who were never denied yet the freedom to teach their Children to manage an *Hobby-horse*, without offering Violence to Gravity or Discretion.

Neither do we so ordinarily fall through the unevenness or difficulty of the *Way*, as Carelessness and Ignorance in the *Journals of former Experience*: This makes it the greatest demonstration of *Paternal Affection*, with the *Pelican*, to dissect my self before you, and by ripping up mine own Bowels, to let you see where the *Defects of Humanity* reside; which are not only the occasions of many Diseases, but of most of the Misfortunes accompanying this Life.

And though in passing through so much weakness, They are rendred more deficient, than considered in their own Nature, in truth they are: Yet being the best I am
able

To his SON.

able to afford you, They cannot but be looked upon (by You) for as lively a Monument of my Love, as if they bear the Magisterial Impress of a Work of Solomon's.

And in regard of *Time*, none can be more opportune than this, in which Men carry Breasts of Steel against those of their own Profession (some niceties excepted), under the imperious pretence of Religion.

If any blinded with Ignorance, or misled by a more candid Nature, should engage for the *sufficiency* of These, or any thing else I have writ, that may perhaps hereafter be made publick : I am conscious of too many flaws in my self, to be swelled beyond my natural Proportion.

Your sake alone produced Them, that during the little time I have to live, you might turn to my Judgment, upon all occasions, without trouble ; and converse with me being dead without Fear.

There is no great difference between good days, and evil, when past ; yet if thus fortified by the *Advice* of a *Father*, no less than the *Prayers* of an incomparable indulgent *Mother*, you should break out into *Extravagancies*, presuming on the Opinion of your own Judgment, and the Meditation of our Love, (though it would be the severest Curse remaining in the custody of Fortune, yet unlaid upon me :) I doubt

To his SON.

doubt not but to receive more Comfort from a Patience able to bear it, than you shall from a Repentance sufficient to blot it out.

But it is neither Delight in me, nor Charity unto you, by Jealousy to antedate *Crimes never yet committed*; I desire you therefore to take *these Admonitions*, as *Marks to sail by, not for presages of Shipwrack.*

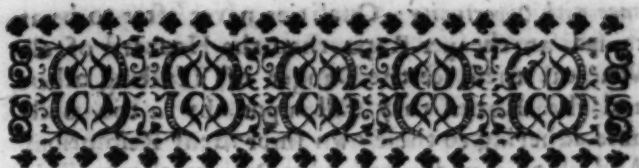
For any *Faults* escaped here, through haste, or other infirmity, I hope your Love will be large enough to cover them; not exposing, out of Ostentation or Idleness, *your Father's Shame*: whereby not only what is perfect may prove useful, but the very Mistakes and Blots obtain as great a Design, by exercising your Wit and Industry in their *Emendation*; which I expect you should faithfully perform in relation to These, or any thing else you find, may traduce the Credit or stain the Memory of

7 DE 61

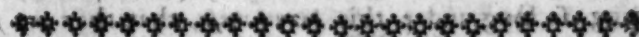
Your loving Father, &c.

Oxon 1656.

F. O.



ADVICE TO A SON.



I. STUDIES, &c.



THOUGH I can never pay enough to your Grandfather's Memory, for his tender Care in my Education; yet I must observe in it this Mistake; That by keeping me at home, where I was one of my young Masters, I lost the Advantage of my most docile Time. For not undergoing the same Discipline, I must needs come short of their Experience, that are bred up in Free-Schools; who, by plotting to rob an Orchard, or run through all the Subtilties required in taking of a Town: Being made, by Use, familiar to Secresy, and Computa-

ance with Opportunity; Qualities never after to be attained at cheaper Rates than the Hazzard of all: Whereas these see the Danger of Trusting others, and the Rocks they fall upon, by a too obstinate adhering to their own imprudent Resolutions: And all this, under no higher Penalty than a Whipping: And 'tis possible this Indulgence of my Father might be the Cause I afforded him so poor a Return for all his Cost.

But though *Children* attain to an exacter Knowledge, both of *themselves* and the *World*, in *Free* and populous *Schools*, than under a more solitary Erudition; yet I think the *Charity* of our *Foresathers* in nothing so much mistaken, as in the vast *Sums* they employed in these (more seeming than real) *pious Uses*, which now much redounds to the Prejudice of the *Plough*, and the more beneficial *Manufactures* of our Nation: The Sons of the *Meny* (*i. e.* Gentry) lying so long under this *lazy Course*, that they are rendered ever after resty to Labour and Travel; which fills the Commonwealth with *Thieves* and *Beggars*; no way to be prevented, but by garbling out of them all Boys of an *Incapacity*, and retaining none that make not more than an ordinary Demonstration of an extraordinary Propensity to *Learning*: Since through the contrary Practice, we lie under the Curse *Jeroboam* brought upon *Israel*: For by making the meanest of the People, both for Parts and Birth, and so of the least Credit, *Priests*, Religion is now fallen into Contempt.

2. As your Education hath been bestiended by a Foundation, so you may endeavour the Requital, if God makes you able: However, let not the contrary afflict you; since it is observed by some, That his Name who burnt the Temple of Diana, outlasted theirs that built it; a Fortune God grant may never fall upon our Universities. Nevertheless, if Zeal, overheated in the narrow Hearts of Men ignorant and covetous,

covetous, should dry up the *Fountains of Learning*, by appropriating their *Revenues*, and demolishing those *Monuments*, (to the Fame of which foreign Nations resort in Pilgrimages, to offer up Honour and Admiration to these Shrines, never empty of glorious Spirits, and return more laden with Satisfaction, than they could possibly bring Prejudice,) yet she should pull down no more, than she had formerly raised, when incited, by a contrary Affection, to Charity and Knowledge: Therefore, a Provocation not strong enough to distemper a wise Man's Patience; who may easily observe, in his own or precedent Books of Experience, as great Maps of *Devastation*: For, if one Age did not level what another had erected, Variety were lost, and no Means left to render the present or future Generations famous or infamous. However, such, as by disobliging Learning and good Wits, frown upon their Painters, cannot expect their Pictures should be conveyed true or fair to Posterity.

3. Let not over-passionate Prosecution of Learning draw you from making an honest Improvement of your Estate; as such do, who are better read in the Bigness of the whole Earth, than that little Spot left them by their Friends, for their Support.

4. A mixt Education suits Employment best: Scholars and Citizens, by a too long plodding in the same Track, have their Experience seldom dilated beyond the Circle of a narrow Profession; of which they carry so apparent Marks, as betray, in all Places, by their Words and Gestures, the *Pedes* (i. e. Meanness of Birth) and Company they were brought up in: So that all Ways of Preferment are stopped against them, through others Prejudice, or their own natural Insufficiency; it being ordinary, in their Practice, to mistake a wilful Insolency for a resolute Confidence, and Pride for Gravity: The Shortness of the

the *Teder* (i. e. *Girl*), their long Restraint confin'd them to, not affording convenient Room to take a decent Measure of *Virtue* and *Vice*. So by using others as they were dealt with themselves, *Repute* is lost when they come to command: It being justified in History, that *Slaves*, after they have forgot all Fear of the *Sword*, cannot shake off the Terrour of the *Whip*. Therefore few not freely educated, can wear decently the Habit of a *Court*, or behave themselves in such a Mediocrity, as shall not discover too much Idolatry towards those in a superior Orb, or disdain, in relation to such, as Fortune, rather than Merit, hath possibly placed below them.

5. I have observed in Collegiate Discipline, That all the Reverence to Superiours, learn'd in the Hall or Chappel, is lost in the irreverent Discourse you have of them in your Chambers: By this you leave the principal Business of Youth neglected, which is, to be perfect in Patience and Obedience: Habits no where so exactly learned, as in the Foundations of the *Jesuits*, could they be fetcht thence without Prejudice to Religion or Freedom.

6. If a more profitable Employment pull you not too soon from the University, make some Inspection into *Physick*; which will add to your Welcome where-ever you come; it being usual, especially for Ladies, to yield ~~no~~ Reverence to their Physicians, than their Confessours: Neither doth the Refusal of Fees abate your Profit proportionably to the Advancement it brings to your Credit: The Intricacy of the Study is not great, after an exact Knowledge in *Anatomy* and *Drugs* is attained; not hard, by reason of the late Helps. Yet I advise you This, under such Caution, as not to imagine the Diseases you read of, inherent in your self; as some melancholick young Men do, that make their first
 expe-

experiments upon their own Bodies, to their perpetual Detriment: Therefore you may live By, not Upon *Phyſick*.

7. Do not prosecute beyond a superficial knowledge, any *Learning* that moves upon no stronger Leggs, than the tottering Basis of *Conjecture* is able to afford it: For though you may please yourself in your own Conceit, it will not be so easie to satisfy others: The Capacity of the Ignorant lying as much below such Speculations, as the more knowing are above them: there remaining to all, in things dubious, a Power to reject, or admit what Opinions they please. Therefore no *Study* is worth a Man's whole Employment, that comes not accompanied with *Profit*, or such unanswerable *Reasons*, as are able to silence all future Debate; not to be found out of the List of the *Mathematicks*, the Queen of Truth, that imposeth nothing upon her Subjects, but what she proves due to belief by infallible Demonstration: The only Knowledge we can on Earth gain, likely to attend us to Heaven. As for other Human Learning, so much of it as is not hewed out of this Rock, is nothing but Lumber and Forms, owned for the majesty and employment only of *Academies*, and of little better use than to find Discourse by the Fire-side. Yet though it cannot be denied, that *Number*, and *Measure*, were all the Journey-men God had during his six Days Labour; my memory reacheth the time, when the Generality of People thought her most useful Branches, *Spells*, and her *Professors*, Limbs of the Devil; converting the Honour of *Oxford*, due for her (though at that time slender) Proficiency in this Study, to her Shame: Not a few of our then foolish Gentry, refusing to send their Sons thither, lest they should be snatched with the *Black-Art*; a Term found out by a no less dark Ignorance, the only Enemy to this Angelical

Angelical Knowledge. Nor is this a Prodigy in the Circulation of Time, as might easily be instanced, did Discretion allow the same Liberty to the Dissectors of the present Ages, as she doth for those past: Neither can you make Application of any example better, than of this, to dissuade you from affording an immoderate Proportion of Benevolence, or malignity in relation to any thing, others condemn or approve.

8. *Huge Volumes*, like the Ox roasted whole at *Bartolomew-Fair*, may proclaim Plenty of Labour and Invention, but afford less of what is delicate, savory and well concocted, than *smaller Pieces*: This makes me think, that though, upon occasion, you may come to the Table and examine the Bill of Fare, set down by such *Authors*; yet it cannot but lessen Ingenuity, still to fall aboard with them; *Humane sufficiency being too narrow, to inform with the pure Soul of Reason, such vast Bodies.*

9. As the Grave, hides the Faults of *Physick*, no less than mistakes, Opinion and contrary Applications are known to have enriched the Art withal; so many old *Books*, by like Advantages rather than Desert, have crawled up to an esteem above new: It being the Business of better Heads perhaps than ever their Writers owned, to put a glorious and significant *Gloss* upon the meanest Conceit or improbable Opinion of *Antiquity*: Whereas *Modern Authors* are brought by *Criticks* to a strict Account for the smallest semblance of a mistake. If you consider this seriously, it will learn you more moderation, if not Wisdom.

10. Be conversant in the *Speeches, Declarations, and Transactions*, occasioned by the late Wars: out of which more natural and useful Knowledge may

be sucked, than is ordinary to be found in the mouldy Records of Antiquity.

When I consider, with what Contradiction Reports arrived at us, during our late Civil Wars: I can give the less encouragement to the reading of *History: Romances*. never acted being born purer from Sophistication than Actions reported to be done, by which Posterity hereafter, (no less than Antiquity heretofore) is likely to be led into a false, or at best, but a contingent Belief. *Cesar*, though in this happy, that he had a Pen able to grave into near Language what his Sword had first more roughly cut out, may in my Judgment, abuse his Reader: For he, that for the Honour of his own Wit, doth make People speak better, than can be supposed Men so barbarously bred were able, may possibly report they fought worse, than really they did. Of a like Value are the *Orations* of *Thucydides*, *Livy*, *Tacitus*, and most other Historians: which doth not a little prejudice the truth of all the rest.

Were it worthy or capable to receive so much Illumination from one never made welcome by it, I should tell the World (as I do you) There is as little reason to believe, Men know certainly all they write, as to think they write all they imagine: and as this cannot be admitted without Danger, so the other, though it may in shame be denyed, is altogether as true.

II. A few Books well studied, and thoroughly digested, nourish the Understanding more, than Hundreds but gargled in the Mouth, as ordinary Students use: And of these Choice must be had answerable to the Profession you intend: For a Statesman, French Authors are best, as most fruitful in *Negotiations* and *Memoirs*, left by publick Ministers, and by their Secretaries published after their Deaths: Out of which you may be able to unfold the

the Riddles of all States: None making more faithful Reports of things done in all Nations, than *Embassadours*; who cannot want the *best Intelligence*, because their Princes Pensioners unload in their Bosoms, all they can discover. And here, by way of prevention, let me inform you, that some of our late *Embassadours* (which I could name) impaired our Affairs, by *treating with foreign Princes in the Language of the Place*: by which they did not only descend below their Masters Dignity, but their own Discretion: betraying for want of Words of Gravity, the intrinseck Part of their employment: and going beyond their *Commission*, oftner by Concession, than confining themselves within it, or to it; *the true Rule for a Minister of State*, not hard to be gained by a resolute Contest: which if made by an Interpreter, he like a Medium, may intercept the shame of any impertinent Speech, which Eagerness or Indiscretion may let slip: Neither is it a small Advantage to gain so much Time for Deliberation, what is fit farther to urge: It being besides, too much an honouring of their Tongue, and under-valuing your own, to profess your self a Master therein, especially since they scorn to learn yours. And to shew this is not grounded on my single Judgment, I have often been informed, that the first and wisest *Earl of Pembroke*, did return an Answer to the *Spanish Embassadour* in *Welch*, for which I have heard him highly commended.

12. It is an Aphorism in Physick, That *unwholesome Airs*, because perpetually suck'd into the Lungs, do *distemper Health more than courser Diet*, used but at set times: The like may be said of *Company*, which if good, is a better Refiner of the *Spirits*, than ordinary Books.

13. Pro-

13. Propose not them for Patterns, who make all Places rattle, where they come, with *Latin and Greek*; For the more you seem to have borrowed from Books, the poorer you proclaim your natural Parts, which only can properly be called yours.

14. Follow not the tedious Practice of such as seek *Wisdom* only in *Learning*: not attainable but by *Experience* and *natural Parts*. Much *Reading*, like a too great *Repletion*, stopping up, through a *Concourse* of diverse, sometimes contrary *Opinions*, the *Access* of a nearer, newer, and quicker *Invention* of your own. And for *Quotations*, they resemble *Sugar in Wine*, marring the natural *Taste* of the *Liquor*, if it be good; if bad, that of it self: such *Patches* rather making the *Rent* seem greater, by an *Interruption* of the *Stile*, than less, if not so neatly applied as to fall in without *drawing*: Nor is any *Thief* in this kind sufferable, who comes not off, like a *Lacedemonian*, without *discovery*.

15. Spend no time in reading, much less writing *Strong-lines*: which like *tough Meat*, ask more *Pains and Time* in *chewing*, than can be recompensed by all the *Nourishment* they bring.

16. Books stately writ, debase your *Stile*; tho' like may be truly objected to weak *Preachers*, and ignorant company. Pens improving, like *Childrens Leggs*, proportionally to their *Exercise* (so as I have seen some stand amazed at the *Length* of their own reach, when they came to be extended by employment;) This appeared in the late King *Charles*, who, after his more imperious *Destiny*, had placed him under the *Tutorage* of an unavoidable *Necessity*, attained a *Pen* more majestic, than the *Crown* he lost. And, though King *James* had

TO ADVICE to a SON.

had such an over esteem of his own *Learning*, that he imagined all who deserved in that kind, robbed the Monument he sought to build to his Fame: The Foundation of which, he fondly conceived to have laid in the Opinion of the World by his Printed *Books*, believing they would be valued by impartial Posterity, at the same rate his Flatterers set them up to in his life time, yet in this he was so far exceeded by *his Son*, that all that come after may learn, *Experience is a better Tutor than BUCHANAN.* *

17. The way to *Elegancy of Stile*, is to employ your Pen upon every errand; and the more trivial and dry it is, the more Brains must be allowed for Sauce: Thus by checking all ordinary Invention, your Reason will attain to such an Habit, as not to dare to present you but with what is excellent: and if void of Affectation, it matters not how mean the Subject is: There being the same exactness observed, by good Architects, in the Structure of the Kitchen, as the Parlour.

18. When Business or Complement calls you to write Letters, consider what is fit to be said, were the Party present, and set down That.

19. Avoid Words or Phrases likely to be learned in base Company, lest you fall into the error, the late Archbishop LAUD did; who though no ill Speaker, yet blunted his Repute by saying in the Star-chamber, *Men entred the Church, as a Tinker and his Bitch, do an Alehouse.* But this may easily be declined by those who read for their Imitation, the incomparable Lines of the late King, || written in a Stile as free from Affectation as Levity.

20. The

 * Buchanan, the Scots Historian, was Tutor to King James I. || Eicon Basilike.

20. The small reckoning I have seen made (especially in their life time) of excellent *Wits*, bids me advise you, that if you find any delight in *writing* to go on : But, in hope to please or satisfy others, I would not black the end of a Quill : For long Experience hath taught me, That *Builders* always and *Writers* for the most part, spend their Money and Time in the Purchase of *Reproof* and *Censure* from envious Contemporaries, or self-conceited Posterity. He that gets the good Word of his Reader, hath nothing else to look for, nor ask : Therefore if you would happily attain your end, imitate an active Gentleman. I knew who passing by such as threw the *Bar*, would take it up and pitch it as far as he was able, the first time, and so leave them : Now few could out-throw him ; and such as did, came short in Credit : Because it was the general Opinion, that he who without untrussing, or making such a Preparation as the *Clowns* use to do, could at the first go so far, must needs with another Assay or two, have outgone them all ; though in truth he could not. Thus had he not only his own Strength, but the Peoples, which lies in Opinion, to advance him.

21. Be not frequent in *Poetry*, how excellent soever your Vein is, but make it rather your *Recreation*, than *Business* : Because, though it swells you in your own Opinion, it may render you less in that of wiser Men, who are not ignorant, how great a Mass of Vanity, for the most part coucheth under this Quality, proclaiming their *Heads*, like *Ships*, of use only for *Pleasure*, and so richer in *Trimming*, than *Lading*.

It is incident to many, but as it were natural with Poets, to think others take the like *Pleasure* in bearing, as they do in reading their own *Inventions*. Not considering, that the generality of Ears are
com.

commonly stopped with Prejudice or Ignorance : Neither can the *Understandings* of Men, any more than their *Tastes*, be wooed to find a like Savour in all things ; one approving what others condemn, upon no weightier an Account, than the single Score of their own Opinions. Yet some, like infirm People, make it the chief part of their Entertainment, to *shew Strangers their gouty Lines* ; in which they do not seldom become more unhappy, than those really diseased, who by such boldness do sometimes hear of a *Remedy*, whereas the others render themselves incurable : For though neat *Wits*, like fair *Ladies*, may take a Pleasure in making communicable the Beauty of their Parts, yet they both appear most grateful, when they are obtained with struggling and blushing.

22. The Art of *Musick* is so unable to refund for the Time and Cost required to be perfect therein, as I cannot think it worth any serious Endeavour : The Owner of that Quality being still obliged to the trouble of calculating the difference between the morose Humour of a rigid Refuser, and the cheap and prostituted Levity and Forwardness of a mercenary Fidler. Denial being as often taken for Pride, as a too ready Compliance falls under the Notion of Ostentation : Those so qualified seldom knowing when it is time to begin, or give over : especially *Women*, who do, not rarely decline in Modesty, proportionably to the Progress they make in *Musick* : such (if handsome) being *Traps baited at both Ends*, and catch Strangers as often as their Husbands, no less tired with the one than the other.

23. Wear your *Clothes neat* ; exceeding, rather than coming short of others of like Fortune ; a Charge born out by Acceptance where ever you come :

come : Therefore spare all other Ways rather than prove defective in this.

24. Never buy but with ready Money ; and be drawn rather to fix where you find things cheap and good, than for Friendship or Acquaintance, who are apt to take it unkindly, if you will not be cheated. For if you get nothing else by going from one Shop to another, you shall gain Experience.

25. Next to Clothes, a good Horse becomes a Gentleman ; in whom can be no great Loss, after you have got the Skill to choose him, which once attained, you may keep your self from being cozened, and pleasure your Friend : The greatest Danger is Haste, I never lov'd to fix on one Far, for then I saw him at the best, without hope of Improvement ; if you have fallen on a Bargain not for your Turn, make the Market your Chapman, rather than a Friend.

26. Gallop not through a Town, for fear of hurting your self or others : Besides the Undecency of it ; which may give cause to such as see you, to think your Horse, or Brains, none of your own.

27. Wrestling and Vaulting have ever been looked upon by me, as more useful than Fencing, being often outdar'd by Resolution, because of the vast difference between a Foyn and a Sword, an House and a Field.

28. Swimming may save a Man, in case of Necessity ; though it looseth many, when practised in Wantonness, by increasing their Confidence ; Therefore, for Pleasure exceed not your Depth ;
and

and in seeking to save another, beware of drowning your self.

29. Though *MACHIAVELL* sets down Hunting and Hawking in the Bill of Advice he prescribes to a *PRINCE*, as not only the wholsomest and cheapest Diversions, both in relation to himself, and his People, but the best Tutors to Horsemanship, Stratagems, and Situations, on which he may have after occasion to place an Army. Yet these are so much in the disposition of Chance, (the most delightful Part being wholly managed according to the Sense of the Creature) that by such cross Accidents, as do not seldom intervene, Storms of Choler are often raised, in which many Humours flash out, that in a greater Serenity, Prudence would undoubtedly conceal: so as I could name some, reputed Owners of an Habit of Policy, more ruffled, and farther put out of their Bias, by a small Rub lying in the Way of their Pleasure, than a greater could cause in that of their Profit. And as sinister Events in these Pastimes deject a Man below the ordinary Level of Discretion, so a happy Success doth as often winde him up to such a jovial Pin, that he becomes a familiar Companion to those who can inform his Judgment in little, but what signifies nothing, and whom in a more reserved Temper he would think it tedious to hear: yet cannot after shake off their Acquaintance, without incurring the Censure of Pride or Inconstancy. Neither am I led to this Opinion by any particular Disaffection, but out of the greater Reverence I bear to the Wisdom of Sir *Philip Sidney*, who said, that Next Hunting he liked Hawking worst. However, though he may have fallen into as Hyperbolical an Extream, yet who can put too great a Scorn upon their Folly, that to bring home a raskal *Deer*, or a few rotten *Coneys*, submit their Lives to the Will or Passion

of

of such as may take them, under a Penalty no less slight, than there is Discretion shewed in exposing them.

30. Such as are betrayed, by their easy Nature, to be ordinary *Security* for their Friends, leave so little to themselves, as their Liberty remains ever after arbitrary at the Will of others. Experience having recorded many (whom their Fathers had left Elbow-room enough) that by *Suretyship* have expired in a Dungeon. But if you cannot avoid this Labyrinth, enter no farther than the Thread of your own Stock will reach; the Observation of which will, at worst, enable you to bail your self.

Let not the *Titles of Sanguinity* betray you into a prejudicial Trust: No Blood being apter to raise a Fever. or cause a Consumption, sooner in your poor Estate. than that which is nearest your own; as I have most unhappily found, and your good Grandfather presaged, though God was pleased to leave it in none of our Powers to prevent: Nothing being truer in all *Solomon's* Observations. than that *A good Friend is nearer than an unnatural Brother.*

31. He that lends upon publick Faith is *Security* for his own Money; and can blame none more than himself; if never paid: Common Debts, like common Lands, lying ever most neglected.

32. Honesty treats with the World upon such vast Disadvantage, that a Pen is often as useful to defend you as a Sword, by making Writing the Witness of your *Contrasts*: For where Profit appears, it doth commonly cancel the Bands of Friendship, Religion and the Memory of any thing that can produce no other Register, than what is verbal.

33. In a Case of Importance, hear the *Reasons* of Others pleaded, but be sure not to be so implicitly led by their Judgments, as to neglect a greater of your *Own*: As *Charles* of England did, to the Loss of his Crown. For as the ordinary Saying is, *Count Money after your Father*; So the same Prudence adviseth, to measure the Ends of all Counsels; though uttered by never so intimate a Friend.

34. Beware nevertheless, of thinking your self wiser or greater than you are. *Pride* brake the Angels in Heaven, and spoils all Heads we find crackt here; for such as observe those in *Bedlam*, shall perceive their Fancies to beat most upon Mistakes, in Honour or Love. The way to avoid it is, duly to consider, how many are above you in *Parts*, yet below you in Condition: And that all Men are ignorant in so many things, as may justly humble them, though sufficiently knowing to bar out Despair.

Shun *Pride* and *Baseness*, as Tutors to Contempt; the first of Others, the latter of your self: A haughty Carriage putting as well a mean Esteem on what is praise worthy in you, as an high Exercise on that which appears amiss, every one being more inquisitive after the Blemishes, than Beauties of a Proud Person; whereas the Humble Soul passeth the strictest Guards with more Faults, like the fair Mouth'd Traveller, without Scorn, or Searching.

Though it be common with the King of Heaven, to Punish the Wicked and Reward the good; yet we find him said to Resist no Vice, but *Pride*, nor Exalt any other Vertue, than *Humility*: That being the only Sin we read of ever brake into his Court, unwashed by Forgiveness; where she became the first Precedent of Gods lessening his Family, and the Foundress of Hell. Nor are his Vicegerents upon

upon Earth more auspicious to a *lofly Look*, for any Affection they do naturally bear to it, or its Owners: Though sometimes they dissemble their dislike, out of the use they make of such good Parts, as have the ill Fortune to be so accompanied. This Vice being taken as Intrusion upon Majesty, the only Birthright of Princes. Therefore (dear Son) let not the Apprehension of your Merit lead you up to this Pinnacle, from whence many have fallen, to their utter Ruin. Nothing you find about you being your own, but Scraps stolen from Books, and begged, or rather dearly bought of Experience: This proves the Vanity of Pride, that though she is able to boast of no more than she hath received: (the Hive being possibly altered, but not the Honey) Yet she is ravished so with the Conceit of what she hath (a Contemplation befitting only the Lord of all things) as to neglect a supply of what is wanting: Which, justly summed up, amounts to more than the Abilities of any one Man are able to reach.

35. King James used to say of a Person in high place about him, that he ever trembled at his approach, it minded him so of his Pedagogue. Truth is, a *supercilious Aspect* might be more suitable to the Court of Spain, where Men seem wiser than they are, than that of England, where they for the most part were wiser, than at the first sight they appeared to be: No Princes delighting to see Anxiety painted before them, when free from Perturbation themselves: No more than a joyful Countenance, when their Affairs or Humour calls for a contrary Aspect: To which a Courtier is bound in Wisdom to suit his Gestures; who are more generally pleased with a *Sanguine Complexion*, than such as own a *dismal and melancholy Look*. But Kings are Heteroclitcs, and so far from being comprized under general Rules, that it is not possible some-

times for Patience her self to decline their Malignity, or find a Temperament suitable unto them: Only this I leave you as an Experimented Aphorism, that at all times, but especially when good or bad *News* is expected, such as *whisper*, make any *sudden noise*, or *approach hastily* to the Throne, put them in Disaray, either deluding their Hopes, or anticipating their Fears. In a Word, the best way to keep you in esteem with great ones, is, to observe such a mannerly Circumspection, as your *Accesses* may be neither terrible, nor tedious.

36. To *whisper* with another, in Company of your Betters, is *uncivil*, and the more eminent the Person is, the greater Suspicion it raiseth, who owns an Interest in the Exposition of all things done or said in his Presence by meaner Men. Nor is it safe to pour a *Secret* publicly into the Ear of a *Prince*, at the suit of a less weighty Occasion, than that of an unavoidable Necessity: Such *Intimacy* alarming not only the Suspicion of Enemies, but the Envy of Friends; since every one his Eyes chance to glance upon during your Discourse, imagines himself the Subject treated about: The Pride, a *Secretary of State* took in this (seeming, but not seldom destructive) Honour, did in my time so perplex the *Minion*, as he procured his Ejection without affording any other Reason, than his *whispering with the King*, in his Presence; taken then for an high Presumption, however it may seem now the Forms of Honour are altered.

37. When you *speak* to any (especially of Quality) *look them full in the Face*; other Gestures betraying want of Breeding Confidence, or Honesty; *Dejected Eyes*, confessing to most Judgments, Guilt, or Folly.

38. *Impudence* is no *Vertue*, yet able to *beggar* them all; being for the most part in good *Plight*, when the rest starve; and capable of carrying her Followers up to the highest *Preferments*; found as useful in a *Court*, as *Armour* in a *Camp*. *Scotchmen* have ever made good the *Truth* of this, who will go further with a *Shilling*, than an *Englishman* can ordinarily pass for a *Crown*.

39. I do not find you guilty of *Covetousness*, neither can I say more of it, but that like a *Candle*, ill made, it smothers the *Splendour* of an happy *Fortune* in its own *Grease*.

Yet live so frugally if possible, as to reserve something may enable you to grapple with any future *Contingency*. And provide in *Youth*, since *Fortune* hath this proper with other common *Mistresses*, that she deserts *Age*, especially in the *Company* of *Want*.

But I need not use other *Persuasions* unto you concerning *Thrift*, than what the *Straitness* of your own *Fortune* points you to; more contracted by others *Covetousness*, than my *Prodigality*.

40. 'Tis generally said of the *Fox*, that he supplants the *Badger*, and nestles himself in his *Den*. What may be pure *Nature* in him, wise *Seneca* adviseth for the highest *Prudence*, rather to purchase a *House* ready built, than endure the tedious and troublesome *Expectation* and *Charge* attending the most diligent and able *Contriver*; who cannot find so much *Pleasure* in seeing his *Ideas* brought into *Form*, as he shall meet *Discontent* from the *Mistakes* of his *Commands*, *Greatness* of the *Expense*, and *Idleness* of the *Workmen*; who, the better to draw *Men* into this *Labyrinth*, make things appear more cheap and easy, than any *Undertaker* of such a *Task* ever yet found: Knowing, if once

engaged, the Spurs of Shame and Necessity will drive him on; when the *Buyer* may take or leave, having a World to chuse in, and the choicest Conveniences at another's Cost, without participating of their Disgrace, for such Faults as Curiosity may find, and he himself might have fallen into, had he been Operator; since nothing was ever yet so exactly contrived, but better Information, or a new Discovery of a more commodious *Fashion* or *Situation* did arraign of Defect. Which altogether proves it the best Advice, rather to endure the Absurdities of others *gratis*, than to be at the Cost to commit greater your self.

Keep no more *Servants* than you have a full Employment for; and if you find a good one, look upon him under no severer Aspect than that of an *bumble Friend*: The Difference between such an one and his Master residing rather in Fortune than Nature. Therefore do not put the worst Constructions upon any thing he doth well or mistakes. Thus, by proportioning your Carriage to those below, you will the better bring your Mind to a safe and easy Deportment to such as Fate hath set above you. To conclude, Servants are ever Sharers with their Masters in Prosperity, and not seldom an Occasion of their Destruction in bad Times, by fomenting Jealousy from without, or Treachery within.

41. Leave your *Bed* upon the first Desertion of Sleep; it being ill for the Eyes to read lying, and worse for the Mind to be idle; since the Head, during that Laziness, is commonly a Cage for unclean Thoughts.

42. It is no where wholsom to Eat so long as you are able; especially in *England*, where Meat, aptest to inveagle the Stomach to an over-Repletion,

tion comes last. But in case you transgress at one Meal, let no Perswasion tempt you to a second Repast, till by a fierce hunger you find your self quite discharged of the former Excess. An exact Observance of this hath, under God, made me reach these Times, and may, through his Mercy, preserve you for better. I have heard that the *Indians*, by the great Moderation they use, are well able to digest raw flesh; thought by some of more natural, if not easy Concoction, than what is dry-roasted.

Drink not being *Hot*, unless Sack, &c. such Droughts residing rather in the Palate and Throat than Stomach; and so safer quenched by Gargles, Liquorish, a Cherry, or *Tobacco*; the Use of which I neither perswade nor prohibit, having taken it my self since sixteen, without any extraordinary Marks of Good or Ill; but cannot approve nosing, or swallowing it down; as many to my Knowledge have done, not long-liv'd.

43. Nothing really acceptable to the Gusto of Humanity, but Prudence may experiment without *Detection*, or waking the clamorous Multitude (gratified in all Opportunities they have to accuse others, though far more guilty themselves;) a Temper not possibly to be attained by the Lovers of *Drink*, which will not only render my *Reasons*, but your *own*, *useless*.

Let no Incivility in the Administration of an Officer, provoke you to a Contempt of the Authority he acts by; many being quick in Memory, who, out of Scorn to be catechized by a *Constable*, have *summ'd up their Days* at the End of a *Watchman's Bill*; who being armed with Law, ought not in Reason to be resisted; since, if you are no Malefactor, he attends for your Preservation. Nor is there a Capacity of finding Honour by Night about those, that can lay claim themselves to none by Day-

light; and through whom a small Drop of Silver will carry you more safe than a Sword. Therefore, since this Folly is the Birthright of *Drink*, I would have only Dinners assigned for Friendship; in hope that such as begin then, though they out-fit the Sun, will be delivered of the Fury of the Distemper before the *Watch* be set.

Were *Drink* capable of Counsel, I should advise, if unfortunately overtaken by such a *Distemper*, not to remove from the place you received it in; by which some Part of the Shame may be avoided, and more of the Danger, attending the irregular Motions of this giddy Spirit.

Drink, during the Operation of the Distemper, will act all the Humours habitual in *Madmen*; amongst both which I have seen some very Zealous and Devout, who, the Fit once over, remained no less Profane. This proves, *Godliness* capable of being feigned, and may raise an Use of Circumspection, in relation to such as profess more than is suitable to humane Frailty.

44. He that always regulates his *Diet* by the strict Rules of Physick, make his Life no less uncomfortable to himself, than unsociable unto others. The like doth he that useth palpable Plots in trivial Things: Who is made by this so suspected in Commerce, as none will approach him unarmed with the like Weapons: For though *Wisdom* may purchase Reverence, and Attention; *Subtily* (distinguished from it only by a sly Carriage) raiseth always Suspicion: Wherefore, the Closeness of the Heart, in Matters of Consequence, is best secured by an Openness of Things of less Moment.

45. Experience hath found it no less Shame than Danger in being the Chief at a merry Affignation: Since what is of evil Savour falls most to their Mess at the

the upper End of the Table; but good to the meanest, who have the Impudence to scramble up any Things that suit to their Advantage, as readily as they can have Oaths to decline what may redound to their Loss.

Beware what *Company* you keep, since *Example* prevails more than *Precept*, though by the Erudition dropping from these Tutors, we imbibe all the Tinctures of Virtue and Vice: This renders it little less than impossible for Nature to hold out any long Siege against the Batteries of Custom and Opportunity.

46. Let your *Wit* rather serve you for a Buckler to defend your self, by a handsome Reply, than a Sword to wound others, though with never so facerious a *Reproach*. Remember that a *Word* cuts deeper than a sharper *Weapon*, and the Wound it makes is longer in curing: A blow proceeding but from a light Motion of the Hand agitated by Passion, whereas a disgraceful Speech is the Result of a low and base Esteem settled of the Party in your Heart.

47. Much *Wisdom* resides in the *Proverbs* of all Nations and therefore fit to be taken Notice of: Of which Number this is common amongst us, *Play with me, but hurt me not*: It being past peradventure, that more *Duets* arise from Jest than Earnest, and between Friends than Enemies; serious Injuries seldom happening but upon Premeditation, which affords Reason some, though perhaps no full Audience; whereas this extemporary Spirit, conjured up by Shame and Smart, harkens to nothing but the rash Advice of a present Revenge.

48. If an *Injury* be of so rank a Nature, as to extort (in Point of Honour) an *unfavoury word*, (as

ver suitable to the Mouth of a Gentleman) Sword-men advise, to second it with a Blow by way of Prevention, lest he striking first (which cannot but be expected) you should be cast behind-hand. But this their Decree not being confirmed by *Act of Parliament*, I cannot find it suitable with Prudence or Religion, to make the Sword Umpire of your own Life and another's, no less than the Law, upon no more serious an Occasion, than the Vindication of your Fame, lost or gain'd, by this brutish Valour, in the Opinion of none that are either wise or pious: It being out of the reach of Question, that a *Quarrel* is not to be screwed up to such a Height of Indiscretion, without arraigning one or both Parties of Madness: Especially since formal *Duels* are but a late Invention of the Devil's, never heard of, in relation to private Injuries, among the *Romans* the *Gladiators* fighting for their Pleasure, as the *Horatii* and *Curatii* for the Safety of the People. It cannot be denied, but that Story lays before us many kill'd for private Revenge, but never accompanied with so ridiculous a Formality, as the sending of *Challenges*, which renders *the Dead a greater Murderer, than he is that kills him*, as being without doubt the Author of his own Death. This makes me altogether believe, that such wild Manhood had its Original from *Romances*, in which the Giant is designed for Death, and the Knight to Marry the Lady, whose Honour he hath preserved; not so gently treated by the *English Law*, where, if his Legs or Friends be not the better, he is hang'd, and his Estate confiscated, to the perpetual Detriment of his Family: Besides the Sting of Conscience, and a natural Fear, like that of *Cain's*, attending Blood, by which the Remainder of Life is made tedious and miserable to such unfortunate Men, who seem in all honest Company to smell too strong of Blood, to be taken in-
as any intimate Relation.

49. *Prosecute not a Coward too far, lest you make him turn valiant to your Disadvantage; it being impossible for any standing even in the World's Opinion, to gain Glory by the most he can have of those that lie under such a Repute. Besides, Valour is rather the Product of Custom, than Nature, and often found where least expected: Do not therefore waken it to your Prejudice, as I have known many, that would still be insulting, and could not see when they were well.*

50. *Speak disgracefully of none at Ordinaries, or publick Meetings; lest some Kinsman, or Friend being there, should force you to a base Recantation, or engage you in a more indiscreet Quarrel. This renders all free Discourse dangerous at Meetings of mixed Companies.*

51. *Carry no Dogs to Court, or any publick Place, to avoid Contests with such as may spurn, or endeavour to take them up: The same may be said of Boys not wise or strong enough to decline or revenge Affronts, whose Complaints do not seldom engage their Masters; as I knew one of Quality killed in the Defence of his Page: The like Danger attends such as are so indiscreet, as to man Whores in the Street; in which every one pretends to have an Interest for his Money, and therefore unwilling to see them monopolized, especially when they have got a Pot in their Pate.*

52. *Reveal not the Pranks of another's Love, how serious or ridiculous you find them, it being unlikely the Mirth should compensate the Danger: By this you shall purchase your self a retentive Faculty, and sell your Friend a stronger Confidence of your Secrecy; hanging on him the Lock of a perpetual Obligation, of which you may ever be Keeper of*

the Key, either out of Love or Fear: Yet many other Faults are not more dangerous to commit, than know without detecting.

53. Be not *Trumpet* of your own *Charity*, or *Vices*; for by the one you disoblige the Receiver, as well as lose your Reward; and by the other you alarm the Censures of Men: Most being condemned through the Evidence they give against themselves by their *Words* and *Gestures*.

54. If it be *Levity* and *Ostentation* to boast when you do well, in what Class of Folly must they be ranked, that brag of the *Favours* of *Woman*? rendring themselves, by this, no less frail than they: It being more *Shame* for a *Man* to be leaky and incontinent at the *Mouth*, than for a *Woman* to scatter her *Favours*.

55. To make *Love* to married *Women* doth not only multiply the Sin, but the Danger: Neither can you, if question'd by her Husband, use, with Hope of Victory, any sharper Weapon, than *Repentance*, sheathed in a modest *Excuse*.

56. Fly, with *Joseph*, the Embraces of great *Ladies*; lest you lose your Liberty, and see your Legs rot in the Stocks of the *Physician*: They being often unwholesome, ever so unreasonable, as to exact a Constancy from you, themselves intend not to observe; perverting so far the Curse of God, as to make your *Desires* subject to theirs.

57. Usher not *Women* to *Masques*, *Plays*, or other such publick *Spectacles*, to which you have not an easy Access for Money or Favour: Such Places being apter to create Injury, than afford an handsome Opportunity for Revenge. Besides, if those you carry be old and deformed, they disparage You; if young and handsome, Themselves.

II. LOVE



II. LOVE and MARRIAGE.

To the Reader, concerning the following
Discourse of LOVE and MARRIAGE.



HIS had not appeared, being a Result of more juvenile Years, but that I feared, if let alone, it might hereafter creep abroad from under a false Impression, and one more scandalous to that Sex, than becomes my Complexion or Obligation. Therefore, to vindicate me from the no less inhuman than unnatural Imputation of a Women-hater, I do here protest, with a Reference to their Charity and my own most serious Affections, That if the Party advised had been a Daughter, my Ink must have cast blacker, than the rich Grain of their Angelical Beauty is capable to be asserted by. It being observable, That such Idolaters as made She Deities the Object of their Worship, were, by all, celebrated for most Learning, Wisdom and Civility. Nevertheless, though Women be Cordials when
Desire

Desire is past, and *Juleps* while the Heat continues, yet since it is ordinary for *Dabblers in Beauty* to mistake Poison for Physick, (such feminine Boxes not always bearing Drugs suitable to their Inscriptions, but being often painted with more Perfections than they cary in them) I hope this Discourse may the better be excused, having the Example of Solomon to justify the Harshness of my Expressions, no less than his Follies to warrant the Necessity of the Caution; lest my Son should mire himself and his Hopes in the Pursuit of such foolish Flames, as have tempted the strongest, wisest, and most religious, out of the Ways of Peace. I shall forestall the Reader with no farther Complement, than that he would forbear to condemn or praise beyond Reason; lest he should appear too severe towards my Levity, or indulgent to his own Morosity in relation to Beauty.



II. LOVE and MARRIAGE.



LOVE, lik a Burning-Glass, contracts the dilated Lines of Lust, and fixeth them upon one Object ; bestowed by our Fellow-Creatures (the exacter Observers of the Dictates of Nature) promiscuously, without Partiality in Affection, on every distinct Female of their respective *species* ; whereas Man, being restrained to a particular Choice, by the Severity of Law, Custom, and his own more stupendious Folly, out of a Jealousy to be robb'd of a present Desire, is so hurried away with the Apparition of an imaginary Beauty, (supposed by his Fancy, grossly abused by her Servants the Senses, corrupted and suborn'd through an implacable Appetite, which Nature, for her own end of Continuance, stirs up in all to his fleshly Conjunction,) that no Reason can for the present be audible, but what pleadeth in favour of this soft Passion ; which makes a deeper or lesser Impress, proportionable to the Temper of the Heart it meets with ; causing Madness in some, Folly in all : Placing, like stupid Idolaters, Divinity in a silly Creature, set by the Institutes of Nature in a far inferior Class of Perfection

fection to that which makes it his Business to worship and adore it; imagining as false Felicities in the Fruition, as they apprehend Miseries in the Loss; When all they desire is but the Fruit of that Tree, the Kernel of that Apple which first destroyed us all, fair to Sight, but of fatal and dreadful Consequence to the Taster; rendring Him subject to Slavery, that was born free; and suffering Her to command, who ought in righter Reason to serve and obey.

2. To cure *Youth* wholly of this Desire, were as uneasy a Task, as to divest it of Humanity: Therefore I expect you should be tossed in this Storm, but would not have you shipwrack'd, by contracting your self to the Ocean, unless, with the Duke of *Venice*, you might yearly repeat the Ceremony to as great an Advantage.

3. For if ever *Marriages* were on all sides happy, (which is no Schism to doubt of). Experience never found them among such, as had no other dealing, but what they received from the Flames of *Love*; which cannot hold without Jealousy, nor break without Repentance, and must needs render their Sleep unquiet, that have one of these *Caddis*, or *Familiars* still knocking over their Pillow.

4. Those *Virtues*, *Graces*, and *reciprocal Desires*, bewitched Affection expected to meet and enjoy, Fruition and Experience will find absent, and nothing left but a painted Box, which Children and Time will empty of Delight; leaving Diseases behind, or, at best, incurable Antiquity.

5. Therefore I charge you, (as you will answer the contrary another Day to your own Discretion, and upon the Penalty of a bitter though vain Repentance.)

pentance) not to truck for, or entertain Commerce upon the Credit of *Marriage*, with a solitary, that is an *unendowed Beauty*, (which, if really intended, you question your own Judgment; if otherwise, the Honesty of you both:) From whence I have known such sad Consequents to result, as have made some (wise enough to presage the Mischief of the Event) so far concede to the Tears and Misery of the Party, as to cast themselves, out of meer Pity and Conscience, into the Precipice of *Marriage*; burying their own Fortunes and future Felicity, only to satisfy the Affection of another.

6. *Marriage*, like a Trap set for Flies, may possibly be ointed, at the Entrance, with a little Voluptuousness, under which is contained a Draught of deadly Wine, more pricking and tedious than the Passions it pretends to cure, leaving the Patient in little quieter Condition in the Morning, than him that hath over-Night kill'd a Man to gratify his Revenge.

EVE, by stumbling at the Serpent's Sollicitations, cast her Husband out of Paradise: Nor are her Daughters surer of Foot, being foundered by the Heat of Lust and Pride: And unable to bear the Weight of so much of our Reputation, as Religion and Custom hath loaded them withal; that an unbalasted Behaviour, without other Leakage, is sufficient to cast away an Husband's Esteem: Neither doth the Penalty of a *light Report* laid on the Mother, conclude there, but diffuseth itself, like a Leprosy, over *Posterity*, being uncapable of any other Cure than Length of Time can deduce out of Forgetfulness.

7. It were something yet, if *Marriage* could answer the Expectation of all the boasts the Cure of, in the large Bill our Mountebank-Teachers proclaim in every

every Street ; which, upon Trial, she often comes so far short of, as to satisfy none, but rather aggravates the Sins of Solitude ; making simple *Fornication* to sprout into *Adultery*. And, if it happen that your *Wife* be *impotent*, or *infected* (as not a few are) with one or more of those loathsome *Diseases* incident to feminine Nature, which render her unsociable, you are posted off, both by Lawyers and Divines, to the same Patience I do here more opportunely propose, before you are fallen under so mischievous and expensive a Conjunction.

8. If none of my Perswasions, nor others woeful Experience, daily met with in the World, can deter you from yoking your self to another's Desires, make not a *celebrated Beauty* the Object of your Choice ; unless you are ambitious of rendering your House as populous as a Confectioner's Shop ; to which the gawdy Wasps, no less than the Liquorish Flies, make it their Business to resort, in Hope of obtaining a Lick at your Honey-pot : Which though bound up with the strongest Obligations or Resolutions, and sealed by never so many Protestations, yet feminine Vessels are obnoxious to so many Frailties, as they can hardly bear, without breaking. the Pride and Content they naturally take in seeing themselves adored : Neither can you, according to the *loose Custom of England*, decently restrain her from this Concourse, without making Demonstration of Jealousy towards her. (by which you confess your self a *Cuckold* in your own Imagination already,) or Incivility to such as come to visit you ; though it may be strongly presumed, your Sake hath the least Share in this Ceremony ; however tied in Manners to attend with Patience, till his *Worship*, perhaps his *Lordship*, had pumped his Wit dry, having no more Complements left but to take Leave : Thus, with his Invention rebated,
but

but not his Lust, he returns home; where the old Preserver of Bawdry, his Kinswoman, perceiving, by his dejected Countenance, that he came short of his Desires, and wanting a new Gown, imbarks herself for the Employment; and to put the honestest Face upon so ugly a Design, she contracts a straight Alliance with your (yet possibly unconquered) Bed-fellow, and under Pretence of a Gossipping, or perhaps a Voyage to some Religious Exercise, hurries her away in his Honour's Coach to a Meeting-House, where, though she be taken by Storm, is fairly sent home with Bag and Baggage, being only plundered of what you are not likely to miss; and finding it unsafe to complain, returns again upon her Parole, or so often as her new Governour pleaseth to summon her, sheltering the Fault under Custom, your unavoidable Fate, or perhaps Providence, (which, for their Excuse, some are wicked enough to plead,) till her Forehead be as much hardened with Impudence, as yours is by Reproaches, &c. And yet he is the happier Owner, who hath a Wife wise enough to conceal the real Horns of her Husband, than she, that being innocent, doth, by her light Carriage, make the base Symptoms appear in the World's Opinion: Oh! remember this, when you are about to forget the Pleasure and Safety, only to be found in a *Single Life*.

If you consider *Beauty* alone, quite discharged from such *Debentures* as she owes to the Arts of *Tire-women*, *Tailors*, *Shoo-makers*, and perhaps *Painters*, you will find the Remains so inconsiderable, as scarce to deserve your present Thoughts, much less to be made the Price of your perpetual Slavery: Be not then led like a Child, by these gaudy *Butterflies*, amongst the Bryars and Nettles of the World; since obtained, a little Time and Use will wear off their fading Colours, leaving nothing in your Possession but a bald, drowsy *Moth*; which if
good,

good, will by Accident, if bad, make it her Business to discontent you:

9. The *English* Laws are compos'd so far in Favour of *Wives*; as if our Ancestors had sent Women to their Parliaments, whilst their Heads were a Wooll-gathering at Home, allowing no *abusing* of *Husbands* capital, nor *Marriage* dissolvable, but in case of *Adultery*; nor subject to Proof, but under the Attests of two Witnesses at one and the same Time: Nor is Non-co-habitation a sufficient Discharge from his keeping all such Children; as her Lust shall produce during his Abode between the four *English* Seas; so as if his Wife be a *Strumpet*, he must banish himself, or deal his Bread and Clothes to the spurious Issue of a Stranger; a Thralldom no wise Man would sell himself to for the fairest Inheritance; much less for Trouble, Vexation, and Want, during Life. Whence it may be strongly presumed, that the Hand of Policy (which first or last brings all Things, expedient to humane Society, under the imperious Notion of Religion.) hung this Padlock upon the Liberty of Men, and after Custom had lost the Key, the Church, according to her wonted Subtilty, took upon her to protect it; delivering in her Charge to the People, that *single Wedlock* was by Divine Right; making the contrary, in divers Places Death, and where she proceeded with the greatest Moderation, Excommunication: Condemning thereby (besides four fifth Parts of the World,) the holy *Patriarchs*, who among their so frequent Dialogues held with their Maker, were never reproved for multiplying *Wives* and *Concubines*; reckoned to *David* as a Blessing, and to *Solomon* for a Mark of Magnificence. Nevertheless, the wily *Priests* are so tender of their own Conveniencies, as to forbid all *Marriage* to themselves, upon as heavy a Punishment as they do

Poly-

Polygamy unto others: Now, if nothing capable of the Name of Felicity was ever, by Men or Angels, found to be denied to the *Priesthood*, may not *Marriage* be strongly suspected to be by them thought out of that List? though to render it more glib to the wider Swallow of the long abused *Laity*, they have gilt it with the glorious Epithet of a *Sacrament*, which yet they loath to clog their own Stomachs withal. However, the patient Submission to the Institution of *Marriage* is the more to be wondered at, since *Man* and *Woman*, not being allowed of equal Strength, are so far prevailed upon by *Policy*, as quietly to submit themselves to one *Yoke*.

10. Yet this may be said for it, That as Men suffer themselves to be bound, when they are cut of the *Stone*, or any sharp Disease, being conscious of their Want of Resolution or Constancy; from whence the wise Operator takes so great an Advantage, as not to let them loose till they have obtained their Cure: So the grave *Law* settles, by this way, our wild and wandering Affections, converting them to the publick Benefit, perswading such as are willing to hear her, That a *Wife* is a *Medicine* both for *strong* and *weak*, quenching the Fire of the one, no less than restoring the Heat of the other: Being the true and shorter Part of the *Tally*, without which Man can render no just Account of his Life; thought too smooth and oily to climb Heaven, unless mingled with the Vinegar of *Marriage*.

11. Nevertheless there is not in private Persons any other necessary Constraint to this *Conjunction*, but what results from Understandings so muffled for the present, that they cannot discern that *Marriage* is a Clog fastened to the Neck of Liberty, by the juggling Hand of *Policy*, that provides only for the general Necessities of all in gross, not the particular Con-

Conveniences of single Persons; who, by this, give stronger Security to the Commonwealth, than suits with Prudence or Liberty. And, to such as ask, How should the World subsist, did all observe the like Caution? It may be answered, As well as without Unthrifts; who, by spending their Estates profusely, make Way for wiser Men to be the more happy: And as it is impossible to find a Dearth of the latter, though not compelled thereunto by any other Law, than the Instigation of their own Folly; so doubt not but there will be enough found of the former, to stock the World, without putting so chargeable an Experiment on your own Conveniency.

12. We brook nothing well, *Restraint* ties us to: Therefore some take more Content in sharing a *Mistress* with others, than they can find in the sole Fruition of a *Wife*: The Reason is, *Strangers* are taken for *Dainties*, *Wives* as *Physick*. *Riches* and *Honour* were in the same Predicament, but that they still leave something to be desired; *Lust* nothing, beyond the Repetition of the same again; which, after a few Enjoyments, grows tedious. Other Courses weary us with *Change*, this with *Continuance*.

13. Ask your self, What Desire you ever attained, that a long and often repeated Fruition did not render tedious, if not loathsome, though the Thing wished for, remained in the Perfection it was, before Enjoyment? And can your Reason promise you, to continue the same unto *Beauty*; so transitory, as it is in a manner lost, before you can truly consider, whether it belongs to Nature, or the Dress? Therefore, when discontented with your present Condition, tumble towards any Change, rather than into that bottomless Pit, out of which no Repentance can bayl you.

14. After

14. After that *Age, Weariness, Wisdom* or *Business* hath dispossessed you of this dumb and deaf *amorous Spirit*, and concluded all Desires to *uxorious Vanities*, it is possible your *Wife's* Appetite may increase, and that Disease of *Lust*, which your Youth cured before she had leasure to discover it, may then unseasonably interrupt your Sleep; calling for *That*, there shall be nothing in her, but Importunity, to provoke you to; nor in you, but the Desire of Quiet, and to conjure down the fierce Devil of *Jealousy*, which haunts the Houses of married Folks, rendering them no less unhappy, dismal and clamorous, than the Temple of *Moloch*, where such Children and Servants, as you most delight in, shall pass through the Fire of daily Contention.

15. Were it possible to assign to your Choice *the* *Vertues of your Mother*, (which, I confess, are inferior to none,) and fancy a *Son*, with as rich Parts as Imagination is able to endow a Creature withal; yet a *Daughter* may come, that for Want of good Behaviour, or Care in Marriage, shall infuse so much Gall into your Cup, as will be able to imbitter all the Pleasure taken in the rest: Or, if you should escape this in regard of one, the least Deformity happening to any of the others, will cause more Grief, than all the Towardliness of the most perfect can out-talk.

16. Our Beldame *EVE*, to save her Longing, sold us all for an Apple; and still as we fall into the same Desires, apprehending *Felicities in things we never tried*, we are carried away by her peevish *Daughters*, the true *Syrens* wife *Ulysses* stopt his Ears against, who, under Pretence of Pleasure and Love, lead us into Dens and obscure Holes of the Rocks, where we consume our precious Time and bury our
Parts,

Parts, (which might enable us to despise or honour this World as best suited our Complexions.) feeding, all our Lives, upon the dry Bones of Want and Affliction, and like *Aëdon*, torn by our Families; nothing being more certain, than that a Married Man changeth the Shape of natural Freedom, and inrols himself among such as rendred Beasts of Burden under Reason of State; whereas those unclogg'd with this Yoke, if they like not the Service and Discipline of their own, may the easier exchange it for that of any other Commonwealth.

17. Though nothing can wholly disengage *Marriage* from such *Inconveniencies*, as may obstruct Felicity, yet they are best palliated under a great *Estate*; all other Arguments for it receiving commonly Confutation from Time and Experience. or are evaporated by Fruition: *Birth* imposing a Necessity of Charge, as *Beauty* doth of Jealousy if not of a bad Report; Innocency being often found too weak to guard itself from the Poison of Tongues.

18. The true Extent of *her Estate* therefore is first to be surveyed, before you entail your self upon the Owner: And, in this common Fame is not to be trusted, which, for the most part, dilates a *Portion* or *Jointure* beyond its natural Bounds, proving also not seldom litigious; and *that* found given *by Will*, questionable: By which Husbands are tied to a black Box, more miserable than that of *Pandora*: There being in the Law Hope of nothing but Trouble and Injustice. Neither do *Widows* seldom put their *Estates* out of their own Reach, the better to cheat their Husbands, perverting so far the Course of Nature, as to make him thrash for a Pension, who ought to command all. This requires *Love* to be ushered into this undissolvable Noose by Discretion, since it hath rarely fallen within the

Com-

Compass of Example, that both Parties (if wise) should be cordially pleased with their Bargain: Therefore the Yoke of Marriage had need be lined with the richest Stuff. and softest outward Conveniencies, else it will gall your Neck and Heart, so, as you shall take little Comfort in the Virtue, Beauty, Birth, &c. of her to whom you are coupled.

19. As the Fertility of the ensuing Year is guessed at, by the Height of the River *Nilus*; so by the Greatness of a Wife's Portion may much of the future conjugal Happiness be calculated: For, to say the Truth, a poor Marriage, like a Father's Theft or Treason, entails Shame and Misery upon Posterity, who receive little Warmth from the Virtue, much less from the Beauty of their Mother.

The best of Husbands are Servants, but he that takes a Wife wanting Money, is a Slave to his Affection, doing the basest of Drudgeries without Wages. Experience cries in the Streets, that he who takes his Maid into the Marriage-Bed, finds her no less imperious a Mistress, than he that is coupled in the highest Link. For such as bring nothing, esteem themselves slighted, if they command not at all; whereas better Educations are apter to confess an Obligation, than those basely born.

20. Yet take one who thinks her self rather beneath than above you in Birth; since honourable Persons, as is reported of Eagle's Feathers, in a Bed, consume all not of the same Plume: Riches were in a like Predicament, in relation to Pride, but easier passed by, because best able to bear the Charges of her own Folly; whereas lean Honour, like Pharaoh's Kine, devours the Gentry with whom they match, by multiplying the Quantity of their Expences.

21. I confess *vast Estates* are not so sensible of the Inconveniencies of *poor Marriages*; as having, besides greater Diversions, the Staff of Power to keep the lean Wolf from the Door: *Want* being no less the Original of most Sins, than the Mother of all Plagues: So as the Depth of Poverty calling upon the bottomless Pit of *Despair*, tempts the ill-bred Son, for Want of better Education, (to change a Life he thinks cannot be made more wretched) to marry the Chamber-Maid: By which the no less unadvised *Daughter* learns to run away with the *Groom*: Do not the careful Looks of all Fathers give Evidence to the Truth of that Saying, *Children are uncertain Comforts, but certain Troubles.*

22. Therefore, (*dear Son*;) if you find your self smitten with this poisoned Dart, imitate his Prudence, who chose rather to cast himself into the Arms of the Sea, and travel, than to let his Hopes and Parts wither in those of a poor whining *Dido*; who is no more able to give you Caution, for the Continuance of her own Affection, than you are of yours, or of her Beauty.

23. I have heard a *well-built Woman* compared, in her Motion, to a Ship under Sail; yet I would advise no Man to be her Owner, if her Freight be nothing but what she carries between Wind and Water.

A neat *Wench*, like a fair Picture, may adorn a Room for a general Commerce, or, like a painted Inn-Post, may tempt you, as a Stranger, to while away some scorching Hours: But to hang her in your Heart, and turn Host to a bare Holly-Bush, is so high a Blasphemy against Discretion, that it would not only exceed Repentance, but Pity and
For-

LOVE and MARRIAGE. 41

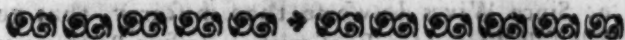
Forgiveness; especially in relation to you, who have had these Rocks marked out on all Sides, by the Advice or Splinters of an indulgent Father.

24. But if once you render your self a Pupil to whining *Love*, he will read you such contrary Politicks, as shall perswade you to make a League with Misery, and embrace Beggary for a Friend: And after this you are capable of no higher Honour than to be registred in one of his Martyrological Ballads, and sung by Dairy-Maids to a pitiful Tune.

25. To conclude, if you will needs be a Familist and Marry, muster not the *Want of Issue* among your greatest Afflictions, as those do, that cry *Give me Children or else my Name dies*; the poorest way of Immortalizing, that can be, and as natural to a Cobler as a Prince, and not seldom out-reached by a Grave-Stone: This proves them no Fools that made their own Choice, by *Adoption*, out of the Mass of Humanity, not confining themselves to such as the doubtful Chance of *Marriage* obliged them to: Since Wives do worse than miscarry, that go their full Time of a Fool with a Bossive Birth; yet less Ugliness resides in the greatest personal Deformity, than in an ordinary Mule of the Mind: Nor can there be a greater Dissemblance between one wise Man and another, though Strangers in Blood, than daily falls out betwixt them and their own Issue: So as it is rarely observed, that a prudent Father begets a like Son; in which, Nature proclaims Things of Moment not made for *Stallions*, and to bury their Rich Talents in the tedious Commerce and loathsome Sheets of a silly Woman. And if we consult right Reason, not Opinion, more of our Blood runs in a Brother, than a Child; the surer Side being always a Stranger to the Family: The

truth is, they are really no more ours, than the curls of our Hair, or parings of your Nails, carrying often such Thoughts towards us, as we should detest any for, but them: Made ours rather by Use than Nature, as appears in the rest of God's Creatures, who look no longer after their Young, than whilst they are unable to shift for themselves: This also speaks an immoderate Sorrow for their Loss, as impertinent, as the like Desire to procure them: none being truly capable of Felicity, that situate it out of the extent of their own reach, or are overpassionately affected with other foreign Misery, than what doth prudently belong to themselves.

26. But if this favours too much of the *Stoick*, You may qualify it as you please: For I doubt not, but the zeal your *Youth* doth yet retain towards the Creed and Practice of others (possibly not so well taught) may at present make much of *This* look like *Blasphemy*: But when so many Winters have snowed on your Head, as on your Father's, you will think it *Canonical*, and fit to be read to *Posterity*.



POSTSCRIPT.

To the WOMEN-READERS, concerning the foregoing Discourse of LOVE and MARRIAGE.

THough the multitude, that croud of Error and Mistakes, like Corn, hang their Ears, and situate their Judgements not according to the constant aspect of Reason, but the mutable and senseless Inspirations of Fools and Criticks,

Criticks, commonly their Nurses, and according to whose Dialect this childish Monster is taught to prate; yet I did not apprehend it so deaf to its own Interest, and the pitiful voice of woful Experience, as to imagine any thing, looking like a Mote in the felicity of a Married man, which becomes not a Beam in the more tender Eye of a Wife; To whom the cruelty of a tyrannical custom hath allotted the heaviest, and most uneasie end of the Chain: Thought by me sufficiently intimated in that Epistle, set on purpose before this Section of Love and Marriage, to stay the Reader from any misprision, the drowsiest Ignorance could lead him into, for want of that Counterpain relating to Women; looked upon, at that time, as impertinent to insert, the Party I then laboured for to arm being a Son.

Therefore I hope I shall not need to implore all the Candor attending your other Excellencies, whose smallest skirt will be sufficient to cover me from the strife of Tongues, voicing this a new-caught-up Opinion, or, that I detest more, a base Recantation; by which I should foully betray a Heart no less ready to be your Footstool in Age, than it was one of your triumphant Chariots during Youth: This being meerly intended to stay the loose Rabble from dropping into any further prejudice of my Innocency, by an equal balancing the Accounts of Marriage; seldom reaching the content of both, especially where the Groom is wholly led in by Love, and the Bride hath

nothing more permanent to accompany her, than Beauty and Youth.

For if the Master of the Cabin finds a Bedfellow with her Concomitance, not only troublesome to stow, but an impediment inconsistent with his own safety, during such a rough storm of intestine War, as my Quill was tossed in when first laden with this Advice, His Mate cannot in ordinary discretion, be imagined to lie easie, who, besides her own particular grievances, hath his dangers also to affright her; And by burying the Regency of a Mistress in the vassellage of Marriage, doth not only go less in the former esteem her Husband had had of her, whilst he lay under the strongest incantation of an unsatisfied desire, but ventures the forfeiture of that ancient Charter, by which Free Beauty is allowed a passport through all Nations where Civility or Honour Commands: Rendering her self in all distempered times (where single she might remain in a harmless Neutrality) obnoxious to an ill treatment from the contrary Party to that her owners fortune, folly or friendship hath contracted him to.

Thus, like the Angels sent to the rescue of Lot, Women do not only run the hazard of their own Contamination by Marriage, to draw Men out of the sins no less than punishments impending the barren and unnatural delights of solitude, but alter their shapes, and embase their celestial Beauties, when by discharging their Husbands of the venom of

Love,

Love, they swell themselves into the bulk and dangers of Childbearing: Loosing their own Name and their Families; to perpetuate that of a meer Stranger: And besides all this, they, in their highest ruff, can be looked upon but as the best of Servants: Having nothing theirs in a more proper sence, than a Child hath, whose Father allows him to call anything His, though without leave he may not dispose of the smallest part. Nor in case of melancholly Discontent, (not seldom hunting every corner of their Family, which Women are tyed to cure, or keep company with) can they find such ready and safe Diversions, as the ways of Men are in all places strewn withal: Who being freer from Fear or Shame (Shakles which Men's own Law and Custom, not Nature or Justice hath cast in the way of the Wive's felicity) they meet such content abroad, as is withheld from your Sex under the Key of Conscience, or covered from your desires by the veil of Modesty, or not possibly laid beyond reach, for want of so easie steps of opportunity.

Yet besides these visible disadvantages, Married-Women lye under a number that deserve the name of corroding Plagues, which the severity of their Modesty, by custom made natural, forbids them to reveal, and against whose Tyrannical Jurisdiction they may be thought to Rebel, that should endeavour to muster them up: For in a small time the Patient obtains his cure, and the Physician becomes affected with the same Desires, frui-

tion hath discharged the Husband of; who doth consider his own Remedy as a Drug easily matched, if not exceeded, by such as may be found under every Hedge: Laying it aside, like a perfum'd Glove, with whose sweetness his senses are so sated by use, as he can apprehend little delight in it; Though Strangers, whose Eyes are not bleared by Fruition, look upon her as the Sun, which retains the same splendor she had at first, not being Eclipsed so much from any Defect of Nature in it self, as by the Clouds arising in the Husdands Fancy, from a daily commerce; Through which, though His Love be diminished, the Wives is increased, if not from affection, yet by an Imposition of Necessity; Men being to be numbred among such Diseases, as are sometime continued with a less train of inconveniencies, than parted withal: Whereas if that Sweet Sex remained still in the state of Innocency, not contemplating any other Reflections but their own, they might be adored for Beauty during Youth, and revered for Virtue in Age; And by putting this restraint upon the felicity of Men, bring them to an honourable Composition, as the Sabine Ladies did the Romans.

To conclude, If Men, the most absolute Masters of their Choice and Employment, find occasion of discontent, under this undissoluble conjunction, who can value Woman's disadvantage, whose Actions, no less than their intrinsical Desires must be subject to, and wait the leisure of their Husdands.



III. TRAVEL.



SOME, to starch a more serious Face upon wanton, impertinent, and dear-bought Vanities, cry up *Travel*, as the best accomplisher of *Youth and Gentry*, though detected by Experience in the generallity, for the greatest Debaucher: adding Affectation to Folly, and Atheism to the curiosity of many not well principled by Education: Such Wanderers imitating those Factors of *Solomon*, that together with Gold, returned *Apes and Peacocks*.

They and only they advantage themselves by *Travel*, who, well fraught with the Experience of what their own Country affords, carry over with them large and thriving Talents, as those Servants did, commended by our Saviour: For he that hath nothing to venture but poor, despicable, and solitary Parts, may be so far from Improvement, as he hazards quite to loose and bury them in the external Levity of *France*, Pride of *Spain*, and Treachery of *Italy*: Because not being able to take acquaintance abroad of more Prudence, than he meets with in the Streets and other publick Places, the Activity of his Legs and Arms may

possibly be augmented, and he by tedious Complements, become more acceptable in the Eyes of silly Women, but useless, if not pernicious, to the Government of his own Country, in creating Doubts and Dislikes by way of a partial Comparison.

2. Yet since it *advanceth Opinion in the World*, without which Desert is useful to none but it self (Scholars and Travellers being cryed up for the highest Graduates in the most universal Judgments) I am not much unwilling to give way to peregrine Motion for a Time; Provided it be in *Company of an Ambassador, or Person of Quality*; by whose power the Danger may be rebated, no less than your charge of Diet defrayed; inconsiderable in such a Retinue, as Persons of their Magnitude are forced to entertain.

3. Or if your Genius (tempted by profit) incline to the Life of a *Merchant*, you have the Law of Nations, and Articles of a reciprocal Amity to protect you from other Inconveniencies, than such as Indiscretion draws upon rash and unadvised Strangers.

And thus man'd out, Your Experience may receive Lading at the first Hand, when others, failing of the like Advantages, must take up that little they make at the common Beam; yet pay more Custom, and run greater Hazards than the whole Return, when cast up, is able to compensate.

4. Or in case this Nation should again break out into *Partialities*, it may not be ill prudence, to go where you may have the prospect of the War with safety, whoever prevail: And for the Place, I say *France*: if you have a Purse: else some Town in the *Netherlands* or *Flanders*, that is wholesome and safe; where *French* may be attained with little

the more difficulty than at *Paris*, neither are the Humors of the People so very remote from your own.

Now if it be your fortune, on any such like Accounts, to leave your Native Country. Take these Directions from a Father, wearied (and therefore possibly made wiser) by Experience.

5. Let not the Irreligion of any Place breed in you a neglect of *Divine Duties*: remembring, God heard the Prayers of *Daniel* in *Babylon*, with the same Attention he gave to *David's* in *Sion*.

6. Shun all Disputes, But concerning Religion especially; because that which commands in chiefly, though false and erroneous will, like a Cock on his own Dunghil, line her Arguments with force, and drive the Stranger out of the Pit with insignificant Clamours. All Opinions, not made natural by Complexion, or imperious Education (being equally ridiculous to those of contrary Tenets.

But where you find such Discourse unavoidably obtruded, mould your Arguments rather into *Queries*, than dogmatical Assertions; professing it more the Business of Travellers, to Learn than Teach: This, besides the removal of Jealousies, will proclaim you Civil, and not bury the Hope of a future Compliance: Muzzling the Mouths of the rigid Zelots (who think none worthy of Life, found out of the Train of their Opinions) no less than engaging the more Moderate, rather to pity you, as one mislead, than accuse you for Willful and Contumacious: Observing herein the Prudence of our Saviour, who prohibits the casting of Pearls before such as are more likely to employ them to your Damage, than their own Edification: And therefore Silence ought not in reason to be reckon'd for a Desertation of Truth, where it cannot be

maintained; but to the prejudice of what the Imperative Power hath declared so to be.

A *Specifick Humor*, as it is most suitable to any *Man* out of Power, so especially if he Travels; less Offence being taken at *Doubters*; than such as boldly undertake to Determine: There not always remaining a necessity, either in Religion or Discretion, to give a *positive Answer*; as appears by *Christ*, who did not seldom oppose one ambiguous Question against another, no less dangerous to resolve: Therefore you may be as well a Murderer as a Martyr, if you run unadvisedly into Ruine.

7. Keep your Zeal chain'd for a Guard to your Conscience, not letting it fly upon such things as Custom hath not made it familiar withal, (Remembering that the *Saducees*, who denyed Angels and Spirits, are not registred for such implacable Enemies to our Saviour, as the *Pharisees*, who confessed both:) the Fury of which Passion hath transported some so far, as to strike the *Eucharist* out of the Priest's Hands, that carried it, Choosing, like giddy *Phaetons*, to burn, rather than not manifest themselves (unseasonably) the Children of God.

8. Do not imitate their Follies, who conceit themselves bound in Honour to assert all Customs used in the Places they come from; which besides contraction of Quarrels, brands such Sophisters with the Imputation of a partial Incivility: Custom being of that insinuating Nature, as it can convert into the Shape of Comeliness, Diet, Apparel, Gestures, Opinions and Sins, that to a Stranger may appear most distastful, ugly, uncouth and unnatural: This renders a Defence of the Errors of your own Country as undecent, as the too loud proclaiming of them is shameful and unworthy.

As it is neither mannerly nor safe to *discommend* any thing used abroad, so likewise is it disadvantageous; for by *Commendation* you shall the better serve out the true Opinion themselves have of it, which upon your *Dislike* will be concealed, or heightened, out of Shame or Ostentation.

9. Fall not into *Comparisons*; For what doth it concern the Advancement of Wisdom, whether London, or Paris, St. Mark's Church or St. Paul's be the fairest. The like modesty must be observed at your return Home; lest you should seem to have lost in your Travel through other Nations, the natural Affection so justly due to your own; which may raise suspicion of a Change, either in your Religion or Allegiance.

10. *Condemn* none with too much severity, you find in never so palpable an *Error of Judgment or Manners*, (which for the most part are merely respective to Time and Place) lest you should bait a Trap with a Precedent strong enough one Day, to catch yourself: All things, we stile *Sin*, lying in the Bowels of Men, as Metals do in the Earth, under an equal parity, till *Policy*, for the benefit of Commerce, stamps them with the Image of the Devil, and on their Reverse *Punishment and Shame*: No more proper to them by Nature, than for Gold or Silver to bear the Impress and Superscription of a Prince, before it be coined, and made currant, or prohibited by *Law*, the *Master of the Mint*, in relation to Good or Evil.

Though it may sute no less with your Years, than mine that advise you, to follow such *Fashions in Apparel*, as are in use as well at Home as Abroad, those being least gazed on that go as most Men do: yet it cannot be justified before the Face of Discretion, or the Charity due to your own Countrymen,

men, to esteem no *Doublet* well made, nor *Glove* worth wearing, that hath not passed the Hands of a *French-Taylor*, or retains not the *Scent* of a *Spanish-Perfumer*. A *Vanity* found incident to *England*, and the People, our ordinary account reckons *East* of us: a strong *Presumption*, the last arrived within the *Pale* of *Civility*, else they would be more confident of their own *Inventions*, had they not still fresh in *Memory*, from whence they derived the *Arts* of *Building*, *Cloaths*, *Behaviour*, &c. A *Fancy* though foolish, yet easier excused, did it not ascend to the more rare and useful *Endowments* of the *Mind*, so far as to put a miraculous *Estimation* upon the *Writings* of *Strangers*, and a base *Alay* on better of *their own*: Since, upon a strict *Examination*, the moist *Heads* of these colder *Climates* may be found to have dropped as pure *Reason*, as the nearer approach of the *Sun* was ever yet able to draw from the more toasted *Brains* of *Spain*, *Italy*, or *France*. Therefore launch not too suddenly into a rough and deep *Censure* of such *Authors*, as you find go contrary to the high *Tide* of *Opinion* for the present, lest compell'd to a *Retraction*, you confess your self apt to be misled by the common prejudice daily found in the *Ways* of *Desert*: As such must needs be, that would have cashiered *BACON*'s *Advancement of Learning*, as an *Heretical* and *Impertinent* Piece, but for an invincible strength of contrary judgments that came to his rescue from beyond the *Seas*: *Englishmen*, bearing a greater reverence to the *Votes*, and a less prejudice to the *Inventions* of *Strangers*, than their own; else our *Authors* needed not to travel for *Repute*, especially at that time when our *Pulpits*, no less than *Theaters*, condemned of *Ignorance* all the known *World* besides. For however it might be with us in the time of *Edward the Fourth*, and notwithstanding the Character *Philip de Comines* gives of the bluntness

ness of the *English Pens*, were then no Hyperboly; yet now no Reader unmuffled by Malice or Ignorance but must acknowledge that the late KING did not only in that vanquish all near his Rank, that almost ever went before him: But hath left many, though short of his Parts; very well able to grapple with the choicest of our Princes Subjects.

11. If the Wisdom of the *States of Holland* were warily observed, who give no other Answer for the present, to any new Proposition, but *Peut-estre*, (in English,) *It may be so*: (by which they civilly evade a peremptory asserting or denying the validity of any Argument) The Hell of the *Inquisition* would not be so replenished with the Souls of poor unadvised Christians: who, made giddy with an impertinent Zeal, and confident in the Promises of the treacherous Jesuits their Country-men (that have Ways enough to betray you, without discovering themselves) communicate to them *prohibited Books*, in hope to convert them (which I advise you by no means to carry with you:) This Mr. Mole found true in a readious and sharp Captivity, reported to be betrayed by Sir T. M. at the instigation of the Lord R. to whom he was assigned Tutor, by the Earl of Exeter.

12. To the *Eucharist*, met in the Streets, (through which it is often borne to the Houses of the Sick) Custom, no less than the Injunction of the Magistrate, obligeth all to kneel, or bow: The which if a Stranger neglects, he is liable to the Inquisitors: Now, if it be an Idol, St. Paul saith *an Idol is nothing*: And if it renders the Meat offered ungo it no ways distastful to a sound Conscience, how should it deprave me to be uncovered, as the rest are? It being palliated, if not absolutely decided this way, in the Case of *Namap*, and the Duke

Duke of Saxony; whom Luther permitted to assist the Emperor Charles the Fifth at Mass, only to preserve a temporal Dignity, covering it with the Title of Civil Respect.

13. Pity, rather than spurn at those you see prostrate before a *Crucifix*: Considering we find it enjoined, by the Penner of the *Practice of Piety* (too often Printed, to carry the Marks of any Thing contrary to the genuine Mind of that Protestant Church), that "All Communicants, at the Article of their Receiving, should imagine the Posture of Christ upon the Cross." And if so, doth it not leave Room for a Query, who is the most mistaken, He that makes to himself a Representation in his Heart, or on the Wall? Yet this, with the rest, is laid before you only as an Advice, not a Stumbling-block, and occasion of Offence.

14. Enter no farther into *Foreign Churches*, than the Hand of your own Religion and Conscience leads you; For, though the Body of their Worship do not take you, the higher Expressions of Zeal, and Austerity (in the stricter sort of Churchmen, and People, taken for the Soul of all Professors) may seem to discover some Defects in your own: And so displeased on all sides, you dash upon the Rock of Atheism; as such do, that value the Merits and Sanctity of Christ, by his, who pretends to be his Vicar; and all moral Virtue by the scant Standard, they find it measured by at *Rome*, where they put out the Eyes of the less advised with the Dust of Antiquity, which we seeming to want, are not so catching to those, not wise enough to look behind the Curtain of Formalities. Yet where Conscience and Reason give you leave to comply (as possibly they may in many things) do it.

it ingeniously, without compulsion or din of an Argument; lest, opposing a Truth upon the By, you give them cause to think you guilty of Falshood in the Main.

15. Confort with none who *Scoff* at their own Religion, but shun them as spies or Atheists: For Strangers honour them most, next to those of their respective Tenents, that are modestly zealous in the observation of their own.

16. Eschew the company of all English you find in Orders: For as they have imitated the lapsed Angels, in falling from their first station, so they bear the like malevolence to all they despair of bringing into the same condemnation: Being for the most part despicable, poor, and Melancholy; The Protestants eying them as Apostates and the Catholicks as Fugitives and unprofitable devourers of the Natives Bread. Thus young Scholars, because not able to reach all they desire at Home, like Prodigals abandon the Bosom of their Mother, unadvisedly casting themselves into that of want and reproach: Viscount Mont's Brother being but a Porter to a Religious House, and many of the rest exposed to such hard and desperate Missions into the Indies and other remote Climates, as their lives are rendered no less tedious than uncertain.

17. Besides, he that beyond Sea frequents his own Country Men, forgets the principal part of his Errand, Language, and possibly the opportunity to get Experience how to manage his Expence: Frugality being of none so perfectly learned, as of the Italian and Scot; natural to the first, and as necessary to the latter. The English also are observed abroad more quarrelsome with their own Nation, than

than Strangers, and therefore marked out as the most dangerous Companions.

18. An Injury in foreign Air is cheaper pass'd over than revenged, the endeavour of which hath (not seldom) draw on a greater. Besides, if Patience and Evasion be not learned by your Travel, the Bills you have taken up may perhaps be discharged, as to the Merchant, but quite lost in regard of any return of Profit to such inconsiderate Men, as suffer themselves to be transported with their *Passions*: Since he that is Master of them, shall Act and speak Reason, when others, destitute of that Moderation, appear mad, uttering nothing but Noise.

19. Play is destructive and fatal to Estates every where, but to the Persons of Gamblers abroad, rendering them the Objects of Cheating and Quarrels: All by-standers being apt to attest to the prejudice of a Stranger.

20. He that desires quiet and to decline Quarrels (undertaken by Strangers upon irreparable disadvantages) must, above all, avoid giving or receiving; favours from Women: There being none, out of the List of common Whores, any way acceptable to which some Ruffin (in Italy call'd *Bravos*, who will murder a Man for a Crown) doth not pretend an interest, either as a Husband, a Kinsman, or a Servant: Neither are they safely conversed withal, in relation to Health; Participating so far of the Nature of Devils, that they are not only instrumental in the Sin, but many times also in the Punishment.

Make not the *Promise of Marriage* a Baud to your Lust, nor think her Fruit worth owning, shall yield possession upon no more formal obligation: presu-

presuming if she can dispence with the Ceremony, by which Law only makes her yours, it is no less possible, that time and the wearisom repetition of the same embraces, may upon as handsom a provocation, tempt her to change the Substance.

He that owns a *Whore* in a more peculiar sence, than a common Jakes, descendes from the dignity of Reason; And yet I have known some so far transported as to Marry such an one to the infamy of their Families, no less than their own future discontent; making a *mercenary Woman* Arbitrator and Guardian of their Issue: Contrary to the wiser practice of *Spain*, where none are admitted Judges of anothers interest, that have taken fees as Pleaders themselves, lest former use should convert them into Bribes: It being hard to forego a profitable custom, and as impossible to impropriate such cattel as to monopoliz the Air; For the Bar of Honour being once leaped over by that Sex, there remains nothing certain to the owner, but the open fields of Shame and Repentance.

21. If tempted by an impatient Affection to any thing, not without danger or difficulty attained; Catechize your self with this Question; What wish, Fortune or Labour ever presented you with, that, after a full Fruition, did not soon grow tedious, or, at best came not far short of what creaking Expectation had undertaken it should perform? And let this contemplation moderate your desires, That all worldly profit or pleasure is correspondent to a like measure of anxiety and wearisomness: Therefore let no importunity warp you contrary to right reason and conveniency, ever arming your constancy against Flattery and impudence, strong assailants, especially marching under the tears and carresses of a handsome and seeming innocent Woman, from whom it is no dishonour

to fly, and with whom there is no safety to treat, for fear, like blind *Sampson*, you grind out the remainder of your days, between Want and Repentance, and be led in Triumph by her Friends, and those suborned to seduce you, more ready to sacrifice the Thanks to their own Nees, than to the easiness of your Nature, to which it is only due.

22. If any then be furiously enamoured on you, whose Fortune cannot correspond for the Troubles incident to Marriage. (which God knows are not a few) venture the loss of Her, rather than your self; it being on of the highest Pieces of madness, to hang an indissolvable Padlock upon your future hopes, only to *save a Wenches* *Longing*; with whose soft humour miscarriage is more suitable, than a Man's armed with so much advice; Therefore fly from such, as incurable Plagues, nothing being more catching to unbiaised Nature, than a seeming violent Affection; which if not built upon a former promise, you may leave her justly to the melancholly Society of her own Folly; out of which it is all odds, but she may happily recover, or imitate the voluptuous death of that Taylor reported to have whined away himself, for the love of *Queen Elizabeth*.

23. Who travels *Italy*, handsome, young and beardless, may need as much caution and circumspection, to protect him from the Lust of Men, as the Charms of Women: an impiety not to be credited by an honest Heart, did not the ruins of *Sodom*, calcin'd by this unnatural heat, remain still to witness it. And as I have heard, they continue so enamoured this uncouth way of Lust, (led by what imaginary delight I know not) that such as Age and Weakness have set beyond the power of Acting, suffer themselves to be Patients in that
nymphom.

noysom Beastiality : Maintaining to this end Emis-
saries abroad, to entice Men of delicate complexi-
ons, to the Houses of these detripit Lechers, un-
der pretence of and assignation made by some Fe-
minine Beauty ; And thus ensnared, the poor un-
circumspect young Man cannot with Conscience
do, or safely refuse this base Office.

24. Where you never Mean to return, extend
your *Liberality* at first coming, as you see conveni-
ent, during your aboads for what you give at part-
ing is quite lost.

25. Make no ostentation of carrying any confi-
derable Sum of *Money* about you ; lest you turn that
to your destruction, which under God is a Strang-
ers best preservation : And Remove not from place
to place, but with company you know : The not
observing whereof is the cause, so many of our
Countrymen's Graves were never known ; having
been buried in as much obscurity as kill'd.

26. Inns are dangerous, and so are all *fresh Ac-
quaintance*, especially where you find their offer of
Friendship to outbid a Stranger's desert : The same
may be said of *Servants* ; not to be entertained up-
on ordinary commendations.

27. Next to Experience, *Languages* are the rich-
est lading of a Traveller : Among which *French* is
most useful, *Italian* and *Spanish* not being so fruit-
ful in Learning (except for the *Mathematicks* and
Romances) Their other Book being gelt by the Fa-
thers of the Inquisition.

28. He that is carried by his curiosity under the
Jurisdiction of the *Turk*, or other *Mabometan* Prin-
ces, shall be used (as they esteem him) like a Dog ;
and

and so to be armed with a more invincible Patience, than commonly accompanies a Man free-born: Insomuch as I heard a Kinsman say, who had been at *Jerusalem*, that the richest experience he brought from thence, could not in the least proportion, recompence the Trouble he met with, bringing Home certain marks of the incivility of the People, for an uncertain discovery of the places sam'd for *Christ's* Death and Burial, And though he thought he Merited by it (a conceit I know incapable of place in your Head) yet no reward could hire him to repeat again those weary steps: Therefore I advise you to believe rather what you may read in your Study, than go thither to disprove it.

29. I can say little of the *Plantations*, having had no experience of them: But that He, which changeth his own Country, shall not in my Mind, do so well, to go farther from the Sun, or where he may not at least share in the Government.



IV. GOVERNMENT.

1.



Contract not the common Distemper incident to vulgar Brains, who still imagine more Ease from some untried Government, than that they lie under: not having passed the first Form of Experience, where we may learn, that Tyranny is no less natural to power, than Lust to Youth.

If happy for the present, 'tis no better than Madness to endeavour a Change; if but indifferently Well, Folly: For though a Vessel may yield the more for tilting or stirring, it renders all in it unpleasant to present use: The Die of War seldom turning to their Advantage, that first cast it: such therefore as cannot make all well, discharge their Conscience in wishing it so; Government being the Care of Providence, not mine. But if it be your Fortune to fall under such Commotions, imitate not the wild Irish or Welch, who during Eclipses, run about beating Kettles and Pans, thinking their clamour and vexations available to the Assistance of the higher Orbs, though they advance nothing but their own Miseries, being often maimed, but at best laid by,

by, without Respect or Reward, so soon as the State is returned to its former Splendor: Common Soldiers resembling Cocks, that fight for the Benefit and Ambition of others, more than their own: This proves it the wholsomer Counsel, to stay within Doors, and avoid such malignant Effects, as People attribute to the supposed Distempers of the superior Planets. But if forced to take a Stream, let it be that which leads to the Desires of the Metropolis, the chief City being for the most part preserved, whoever prevails, in a Civil Commotion, abounding in Money and Friends, the readiest Commotions to purchase quiet.

2. Be not the *Pen or Mouth* of the Multitude congregated by the jingling of their Fetters; lest a Pardon or Compliance knock them off, and leave you, as the Soul of that wicked and deformed Body, hanging in the Hell of the Law, or to the Vengeance of an exasperated Power: But rather have Patience, and see the Tree sufficiently shaken, before you run to scramble for the Fruit; lest instead of Profit and Honour, you meet with a Cudgel or a Stone: And then, (if possible) seem to fall in, rather out of Compulsion than Design: Since the Zeal of the Rabble is not so soon heated by the real Oppressions of their Rulers, but may be as easily cooled by the specious Promises and breach of Authority. Wherefore nurse not Ambition with your own Blood, nor think the Wind of Honour strong enough to blow away the reproachful Sense of a shameful, if possibly that of a violent Death: for if Solomon's Rule be true, that *A Living Dog is better than a Dead Lion*, a Quick evasion cannot but be deem'd more Man-like, than a Buried Valour.

3. A Multitude inflamed under a religious Pretence, are at first as unsafely opposed, as joyned with; resembling Bears exasperated by the cry of their Whelps, and do not seldom, if unextinguished by Hope or Delays, consume all before them, to the very Thing they intend to preserve: Zeal, like the Rod of *Moses*, devouring all for Diabolical, that dares but appear before it in the same Shape: The inconsiderate Rabble, with the Swine in the Gospel, being more furiously agitated by the discontented Spirits of others, than their own; who cannot be so happy in a Sea of Blood and Devastation, the dire Effects of War, as in Peace, though invaded with some Oppression; a Scab that breaks out oftentimes in the most wholsom constituted Bodies of States, and may, with less Smart be continued on, than picked off. And because the Generality are incapable, in regard of Number, either of Reward, or Punishment, therefore not of Use to the Ambition or safety of others, but for the present, like Gun-powder during the Flash of their Discontent, and as a Lock in a River, are only of Force upon the first opening, to drive on the Design of Innovation; losing themselves afterwards in a more universal Dilation, either out of weariness, or doubt of the Consequence.

4. The Example of *BRUTUS*, rather than *CATO*, is to be followed in *bad times*; it being safer to be patient, than active, or appear a Fool, than a Malecontent: An Evasion not only justified in the Person of *David*, and by the Eloquence of *St. Paul* before his Heathen Judges, but our Saviour himself is not heard to inveigh against the present Power, though it had made the Head of the Baptist the Prolick to a Feast.

Own the Power, but not the Faults of the Magistracy; nor make Law, assigned for a Buckler to defend

defend your self, a Sword to hurt others: Left partiality should allure you to pass the Sentence of Approbation upon any thing unwarrantable in its own Nature. Neither let any Formalities used at a mimical Tribunal (as that was, set up in the Case of *Naboth*) perswade you to more than a passive compliance: Since such may seem to make greater, rather than Diminish the Wages of their Iniquity, that seek to cover Rapine with a Gown; which the Sword might Patronize with more Decency: And this observed, the People might cheaper receive all their Injury at the first Hand, which these Retailers of Wickedness utter at more intolerable Rates: The Result of all is, *Abab* might better have committed Murther single, than render so many accessary, under the formal Pretence of a Religious Fast, &c.

5. Before you fix, consult all the Objections Discretion is able to make, But once resolved, desert not your Party upon every Access of a Fever, as many melancholy Spirits did these Wars: who, by their often and unseasonable Flittings, wore themselves so out on both sides, as they were not worth owning, when Success undertook for them, that they did turn in earnest: Irresolution rendering pardon more difficult from either Faction, than it could have proved, had they remained constant to any: Devesting themselves of the Ensigns of Fidelity, looked upon by all with the Eyes of Pity, and do often meet with Honour, seldom fail of Forgiveness, from a noble Enemy, who cannot but befriend Virtue, though he hath found it in Arms against him. Yet if you perceive the Post you have contracted, to totter, through undermining Treachery or Weakness, you may purchase your Preservation by all honest Endeavours: For he that prolongs his Life by the forfeiture of a Trust

he has undertaken, husband's it worse, than if he buried it in the Field of Honour: Traitors in all Ages being equally detested on both sides.

6. Submit quietly to any Power Providence shall please to mount into the saddle of Sovereignty, without enquiring into their Right for Conscience sake, or their Birth, in relation of Honour; remembering that not only David, but the most famous for Success, did not only cut off others Lines, but were natural Shepherds under the Cope of Heaven, before they attained to be metaphorically so under the Canopy of the Chair of State; which once possessed, clarifies the present Incumbent's Title from the greatest Imputations incident to Birth of Proceeding. And the many-headed Beast, the Multitude, is seldom more, sometimes less gall'd and yexed by the new, than the old Saddle or Riders: who out of their greater Experience of her brutish Patience, are more apt to load her with the Trappings of Power, and the Furniture suitable to a Throne; whose Inventory Pride increaseth proportionable to Continuance, and the Presumption they have of their own Ability to keep the People from attempting their Remove. This may render it indifferent to a wise Man, what Card is Trump: whose Game may possibly prove as fair under Clubs as Diamonds; neither ought he to be troubled whether his Fetters consist of Many Links, or but One.

7. If Authority exacts an acknowledgment from you, give it with all readiness: It being the highest Frenzy to dispute your Innocency with those able to convert the greatest into a Fault. For if it be no Dishonour to submit to Thieves, if fallen into their Hands; Let not the Example of a few

Fools (who, like Lice, thrive no where so well as in a Prison) tempt you to oppose your Felicity against the Imperative Power, under which the Disposure of your Person doth wholly remain, and therefore Madness to deny it in Words,

I abhor the Idolatry of the Heathen, yet cannot but mind you of their Humility, in Adoring any thing the People set up, though but hewed out of the Body of an Oak, most auspicious unto Swine, and principally after shaking by such Storms as Devils are reported to have raised: Therefore if you may enjoy the Liberty of your own Conscience and Estate, question not the Desert or Right of those, under whom you do it.

8. He that suffers his *Conscience* to mislead him in civil Obédience, makes his Guide a Stumbling-block; nor considering that *All Governments now extant had their Foundations laid in the Dirt*, though time may have dried it up by Oblivion, or flattering Historians licked it off.

Think it no Disparagement to your Birth or Discretion, to give Honour to *Fresh Families* who cannot be denied to have ascended by the same Steps, those did we stile *Antient*: *New* being a Term only respecting Us, not the World. For what is, was before Us, and will be when We are no more: War follows Peace, and Peace War, as Summer doth Winter, and Foul Weather Fair: Neither are any, ground more in this Mill of Vicissitudes, than such *obstinate Fools* as glory in the Repute of *State-Martyrs* after they are dead; which concerns them less than what was said a Hundred Years before they were born: It being the greatest Odds, Their Names shall not be registred, or if they be, after death they are no more sensible of the Honour, than *Alexander's* great Horse, or any Beast else, his Master's Indulgence or the Writer's,

er's, are pleased to record. Neither, in a strict Sense, do they deserve such Honour, for being able to date their Possessions from before the *Conquest*; since if any be due, it wholly belongs to them that were buried in the Ruins of their Country's Liberty, and not to such as helped to make their Graves, as in likelihood most did whom the *Normans* suffered to remain. Therefore 'tis Madness to place our Felicity out of our own reach, or to measure Honour or Repute by any other Standard than the Opinion we conceive of it our selves: It being impossible to find a general Agreement in any good or evil Report; The Reign of Queen *Elizabeth* being no less traduced, than that of *Richard* the Third is justified.

Be not therefore licorish after *Fame*, found by Experience to carry a Trumpet, that doth for the most part congregate more Enemies than Friends.

If you duly consider the *inconstancy of common Applause*, and how many have had their *Fame* broken upon the same Wheel that raised it, and puffed out by their breath that kindled the first Report of it, you would be as little elevated with the Smiles, as dejected by the Frowns of this gawdy Goddess, formed like *Venus*, out of no more solid Matter than the Foam of the People, found by experience to have poisoned more than ever she cured; Being so volatile, as she is incapable of fixation in the richest Jewels of Nature, Vertue, or Grace: The composition of that Body wholly consisting of Contradictions, no readier to set up this day, than she may be to pull down the next: This renders it the lowest puerility to be pleased or angry at Reports: Good being inflamed, and Evil quenched, by nothing sooner than a constant neglect.

9. *ostentation of Birth*; at no time decent; cannot in this be safe, wherein the very Foundations of Honour are not only shaken but laid bare: Besides, many are so abused in the sound of their own, or their Father's Titles, that by bustling for the upper End, they often render that a Shame, which in it self is no Crime: as for Example, If the Son of the *Common Hunt* (in English, the Lord Mayor's Dog-keeper) by reason of the Title of Esquire annexed to his Place, should consider himself as a Man of Worship, &c. Were it not ridiculous? when, God knows, the appellation is used for the honour of the City, not the Person that wears it. The same might be said of all Mechanick Places at Court which to render them the more vendible, were blazoned with the false Alchymie of a like Title; so far from advancing Rapture, that it sets it back in the Opinion of all judicious Men: Observe how ridiculous such Animals are, to pride themselves in the shadow and tail of Honour, when the substance is vanished, and the Head —, &c. (and Purse left empty.)

10. Despise none for meanness of Blood; yet do not ordinarily make them your Companions; for debasing your own; unless you find them clarified by excellent Parts, or gilded by Fortune or Power: Solomon having sent the *Steward to the Fishwife* to learn industry; and to the *living Dog* rather than the *dead Lion*, for Protection.

11. It cannot be looked upon as an act of Prudence, to do more for another, than in reason may be expected from him again upon a like Occasion; unless so far as I am obliged to it out of gratitude: and no farther can my Prince or any one else expect assistance

sistance from me; For if I have not my livelyhood
 by him, I cannot apprehend any Cause why I
 should expose it for him, especially if I may with
 any Probability be happy and keep it without
 him. And because most of the first Proprietors of
 Government, in our Days, and long before, have
 ascended the Throne at the Cost and Trouble, if
 not contrary to the Mind of the People they com-
 mand, why should any lose that for their Preser-
 vation, which was never gained by their Benevo-
 lence? Therefore, if those at the Helm have lost
 their power, and I not able to find a particular
 Engagement or Interest strong enough to make
 their good Success inseparably necessary to my pre-
 sent or future Well-being, I am not bound to go
 farther on with them, than suits with my Safety,
 and the Security my Judgment gives, that they are
 able to bring me off: All we owe to Governours,
 is Obedience, which depends wholly on Power,
 and therefore subject to follow the same Fate and
 perish with it: For, Friendship can be contracted
 between none that stand so far remote from the
 Line of Parity: Therefore all superlative Powers
 are excepted out of this Commerce, because situa-
 ted in Truth or Pretence, under a *Divine Right*,
 which no Interest of mine can reach, much less
 procure; Then, being so far above us, they can
 be nothing to us, longer than able to support
 themselves: For if they have an extraordinary and
 particular establishment in Heaven, it were Blas-
 phemy to think they can be pulled down by any
 but God; in the Opposition of whose Vengeance
 I am no more able than willing to stand; as those
 must that appear unseasonably for them. Besides,
 Powers are established to protect us, who are to live
 happy under them, not miserably for them, if
 possibly to be prevented; since all sorts of Govern-
 ment may be reckoned among the rest of God's

Plagues, poured down upon Men for their Oppression and Disobedience, in the Primitive Parity; which makes our Wills, like Eve's, subject to others.

12. No Government can be safely engaged, by a single Person, beyond requital: Kings thinking it a diminution of Honour, and Republicks a dangerous step to popularity: Here you may see the continual use of Circumspection, since 'tis possible for Virtue to form a Weapon against it self.

If it be dangerous to over-oblige a King, it is mortal in relation to a Free-State; whose Ingratitude, no less than Requital, is divided among so many, as they are scarce capable of Shame or Thanks: Every Particular, disavowing what is generally thought amiss, and all Faults buried in his Grave, that hath the fortune to die next. Therefore, if possible, avoid *Siding*, yet if compell'd remember it is deducible, both from the History of the great Earl of *Warwick* and Sir *William Stanley* *, That a King may be as safely destroyed as preserved: And for Commonwealths, they are in nothing more Perfect than Ingratitude: Either Government finding it better Husbandry, to pardon Enemies, than to reward Friends.

13. A reconciled Enemy is not safely to be trusted; yet if any a Great one: it being easier for such to execute their Malice than conceal it.

Imagine Few the more capable of *Trust*, because you have formerly obliged them: nothing being more ordinary than Natures that quit such Scores with Hatred and Treachery: And if you consider whose Hearts have been most empty of Pity to-

* See, The Reigns of *Edward the Fourth*, and *Henry the Seventh*.

wards *unfortunate Princes* ; Experience may present you with Millions of such, whose Hands formerly were filled with their Bounty.

Ignorance, reports of Witches, That they are unable to hurt, till they have received an Alms ; which though ridiculous in it self, yet is in this Sense verified ; That *Charity seldom goes to the Gate, but it meets with Ingratitude* : They proving for the most part the greatest Enemies, that have been bought at the dearest Rates of Friendship, which proceeds from the high pride of Humanity : Therefore be as little flattered to do good out of hope of requital, as I would have you terrified out of fear of the contrary.

14. Grant, if ever, a *Courtesie* at first asking ; for as Expedition doubles a Benefit, so Delay converts it into little less than an Injury, and robs you of the Thanks ; the fate of churlish Natures : Where as some, I have known able to apparel their Refusals in such soft Robes of Courtship, that it was not easy to be discerned whether the Request or Denial were most decent.

Do not hackney out your *Promise* to the full Stage of Desire ; lest tiring in *Performance*, and becoming a Bankrupt in Power, you forfeit reputation and purchase certain Enemies for uncertain Friends. Yet when the *Suffrages* of many, in relation to your particular profit, are to be purchased, wise Men's practice hath proved it no indiscretion to be lavish in this kind ; where the dishonour of non-performance with others is quite buried in the greater benefit accruing to your self : it being as ordinary for hope to exceed modesty in asking, as an engaged Power come short of the ability, if not the Will to perform : Therefore, in this Case you must supply with Thanks, what you are not able to do in effect.

15. Be not nice in *Assessing* with the Advantages Nature or Art may have given you: such as want them; who do not seldom in exchange, part with those of Fortune, to such as can manage their Advice well: as they only do, that never give Counsel till called; nor continue it longer than they find it acceptable.

If one in power ask your Advice, in a Business of Consequence it may appear *Rashness*, if not Folly, to answer suddenly upon the place: It not being impossible but that the Design of his Question may as well be to try your Sufficiency, as to strengthen his own: However so much Time as may be borrowed with Safety, from the emergency of any Occasion is likelier to encrease than abate the weight of a Result: And in this interim you may gain leisure to discover, what Resolution suits best the Mind of the Party, who is commonly gratified most by such as comply nearest with his own Judgment; which 'tis ever Wisdom to observe, where all the Counsels given are indifferent. Nor will it favour of so much respect to his Person, or care of his Affairs, to determine extempore, as upon Premeditation: It being the Custom of great Ones to value Things, not proportionable to their Worth, but the sweat and time they cost.

16. 'Tis not Dutiful nor safe to drive Your Prince, by a witty Answer, beyond all possibility of Reply: It being more excusable to appear Rich, than Wise at the prejudice of one in superlative Power: Who have their Ears so continually softned by Flattery, as they easier bear diminution in their Treasure, which they look upon as below and without them, than in Wit, Handsomness, Horsemanship, &c. which their Parasites have long made them believe are inheretent in them. This a Carver at Court, formerly in good Esteem with King James, found to his

his prejudice, who being Laughed at by him, for saying *The Wing of a Rabbet*, maintained it as congruous as the *Fore-Leg of a Capon*, a Phrase used in Scotland, and by himself here; which put the King so out of Patience, as he never looked on the Gentleman more. The like I have been told of a Bishop, who being reproved by the same Prince for *Preaching against the Papists* during the *Treaty with Spain*; replied, *he could never say more than his Majesty had Wit.* Go thy way, quoth the King, and expect thy next Translation in Heaven, not from Me: Meaning he would never better his See. This Humour makes these Terrestrial Gods more auspicious to Fools, than those Solomon saith, are able to render a Reason.

17. It is not safe for a Secretary to mend the Copy his Master hath set him, unless owned as from his former Inspirations, lest he should grow Jealous that you Valued your conceptions before his; who Measures his Sufficiency by the Latitude of his Employment, not the depth of his Natural Parts. This made the Lord Chancellour Egeron the willing to exchange incomparable Doctor D. for the less sufficient, though in this more modest, Mr. T. B.

But in case his Affairs be wholly left to your Management, you must not only look to correspond for his Miscarriages, but as obstinately renounce any Honour may be given you, to his prejudice: Imputing all to his single sufficiency, your self owning no higher Place than that of the Executioner of his Commands. For though many great Men, like Properties or Puppets, are Managed by their Servants; yet such are most Dear to them, as can so carry their Hand in their Actings, that

* See the Reign of King James the First.

they make them appear less Fools, than in Truth they are : Easily done, by giving them the Honour to *concede or deny in Pulick*, without interposing any other Arguments against it, than may become the Mouth of a Servant, however you may order him in *Private*.

18. *Write* not the *Faults* of Persons near the Throne, in any Nation you reside in ; lest your Letters should be Intercepted, and you sent out of the World before your time : But reserve such discourse for the single Ear of your Master, into which you must pour it with more Caution than Malice, lest it should come to be discovered, as it is odds but it will, and then the next Endeavour is Revenge : It being *less Danger to traduce a King than his Minions*. The first still looked upon as above Blame because incapable of Punishment ; but the latter are not only Subject to Accusations, but the Aggravations of their Enemies ; which fills them full of Caution and Prejudice to all they fear are Able, or but willing to Detect them. I could produce sad Effects that have followed the want of Care in this, but that I intend Advice, not an History.

It is an Office unbecoming a Gentleman to be an *Intelligencer*, which in real Truth is no better than a *Spie* (who are often brought to the Torure, and die Miserably, though no Words are made of it, being a use connived at by all Princes :) To whom I give this Caution, That they stay not after their Patrons are called Home, which do not seldom (in Emulation to their Successor, or to Gratifie the Prince they have treated withal, and it may be, from whom they have received Presents and High Commendations to their own King) discover all that are employed to do him Hurt,

Many,

Many, by woful Experience, have Tasted the bitter Consequence of delivering their single Judgment to Men in Power, or revealing their Misvarriages, when able to produce no stronger Proof than their own: For such do not rarely, out of forgetfulness or some other more Politick end, add to the Information; and so make you in the Opinion of others, to Recant, or Justifie a Lie. For if it be a Prince who repeats your Report, you cannot with safety or Manners due to the Dignity of his Person, interrupt him, or, in the Conclusion rectifie his relation with so stout a Forehead, as an innocent Heart cannot but own. Therefore wait in such Cases of *Secresse* you must, till some Opportunity produceth a Medium strong enough to Satisfie him to whom you make the Relation, and Screen your self from all imputation of Falshood. For want of which caution I have known many ground to Pieces between the Weight of their own Credit, and the Parties accused.

It is always slippery about the Throne, but most Dangerous, where a Prince out of distrust of his own Abilities, or attention to the Voice of Pleasure, leaves his Affairs wholly to the Conduct of a Favourite: For there to opine contrary to the gusto of such a Subject, how necessary or prudent soever your Advice is, will be looked upon as given out of Design, if not in Opposition to his greatness: By this I have known many fall into the displeasure of their Sovereign, whose Ears are more open to the Complaints of his *Minion*, than the juster Defences of a more faithful Servant: Which can never come to be heard, there being no access to him, but only through the Mediation of the Party you have offended. Wherefore in such Governments there can be no Security, but by proposing what Conveniency and Reason dictates by way of *Problem*. And if generally received, it

may

may pass under the Advice of others, though contrary to the hair of the greatest Counsellor, who in this Case knows not against whom to plant his Revenge: A Number being no less incapable of Fear than Reproof. But if you find any thing Rejected, or but questioned by your Master upon premeditation, you may be sure the Hand of *Joab* is in it; and so not to be prosecuted farther without running the hazard of your Ruine.

119. That it is not unlawful to serve, or bear Office or Arms under such as ascend the Throne, or other High Places, by Steps Washed in Blood; you may be abundantly satisfied in Conscience, by the Church in *Nero's House*, the good Centurion and many others mentioned in Scripture.

120. Court him always you hope one Day to make use of; but at the least Expence you can: Observing the condition of Men in Power, to esteem better of such as they have done Curtesies for, than those they have received greater from; looking upon this as a Shame, upon the other as an Honour.

121. 'Tis a natural Guard, and within the Management of the most ordinary Capacities, to keep an Enemy out at the Staves end; But suitable only to a superlative prudence, so wisely to govern your Words and Actions towards a Friend, as may preserve your self from Danger: Nor to be done but by Communicating to him no more than Discretion or Necessity shall warrant you to reveal; since Men, in this relation, destroy as many out of folly as perfidiousness: Wisdom being a rarer ingredient in Friendship than Honesty. This makes me think, the Friend *Seneca* brags of was only an Utopian; and therefore I shall pass it by as a Romantick strain, being rather a Sally of his

Wit,

Wit, than a real Charge issuing out of the Body of his Judgment. The highest Love I dare give credit to, is that of *Jonathan*, yet granting he looked upon the Words of *Samuel* as Oracles; no other probable way appear'd to preserve his Family, than by helping *David* to promote that he was thoroughly persuaded he could not hinder. This put into the Ballance with the frailty, no less than the rarity of such Persons, makes me advise you not to weigh that was, may be, and perhaps is, but how many more have been betrayed and undone, under the specious pretext of Friendship: wherefore not to be trusted farther than the Line of a reciprocal Interest doth extend: no former Merit being now able to give Caution for a future Trust, because depending upon the Acceptance of the Receiver, not the value the Giver rates it at. To conclude, Though I think this a necessary Caution, in this perfidious Generation, yet I hope you will be so far tender of your own Honour, as not wilfully to violate so sacred a Bond, never broken or thought out of Fashion, but by base Hands and corrupted Minds: Desertion of Friends being none of the smallest Signs portending the Destruction of a People: For such as out of a pretence of Love, betray others, will not spare their Kings, Country, or God.

22. Mingle not your Interest with a Great Man's, made desperate by Debts or Court-injuries, whose Breakings out prove fatal to their wisest Followers and Friends: averred in the last Earl of Essex but one, where Merrick * his Steward, and Cuff † his Secretary,

* Gelly Merrick (Son of Dr. Rowland Merrick, Bishop of Bangor): He was Knighted by the Earl of Essex, at the sacking of Cadix, 1596.

† Henry Cuff, M. A. He was Greek Professor, and Rector of the University of Oxford.

Secretary,

secretary, though of excellent Parts, were both hanged. For such unconcocted Rebellions turn seldom to the hurt of any, but the Parties that promote them: being commonly guided by the Directions of their Enemies, as this was by *Cecit*, whose Creatures persuaded *Essex* to this inconsiderate Attempt.

23. Let nothing unjustifiable or dangerous appear under your Hand, which many Years after, may rise up in Judgment against you, when Things spoken may be forgot: as happened to the Duke of *Norfolk*, Sir *Gervase Elwis*, and a great Earl I knew led by the Nose all King *James* his Reign, for fear of being questioned about Letters writ to so high a Person as is Treason by the Law, to solicit, &c. Therefore I charge you, as you tender the Blessing of your own Safety, not to write in an ill sense, whatever your Character be: For, if not tedious Examination, sharp Torture will force you to produce a Key.

24. Avoid the Folly of *Aſſeon*, that lost the Shape of a Courtier, by prying into their Secrets, Religion taught him to worship: an Humour Sir *Edward Coke* might have paid dear for, had he published the Contents of the Earl of *Somerset's* Letters in a less merciful King's Reign than *James's*, of whose Pardon the foulest Faults tasted, yet became so highly irritated by this proud Lawyer's Indiscretion, as to remove his Anger from the Prisoner to the Judge, where it rested till Death; who, by the Riches and Honours he poured upon such Heads, as his Youth found in Arms against him in *Scotland*, and in Junctos in *England*, hath made it manifest, that a Prince is easier reconciled to an Enemy, who hath caused him to tremble, than a Subject that hath daily in his power the Means to make

make him blush. Therefore if you attain any such Knowledge dissemble it, or put the best Exposition upon it.

25. Providence or a severer Destiny hath housed under all our Roofs a sufficient proportion of Calamities : Therefore 'tis Folly to send to Market for Troubles, as those do that contract *foreign Infelicities*, vexing themselves for the Losses of the Prince of Conde in France, the Death of the King of Sweden in Germany, or the progress of the Turks in Candy, &c. *Tophet* is prepared of old, as well to torment the ambitious and unquiet Spirits of busy Subjects as Kings.

26. Afflict not your self to see the *Reward of Wisdom distributed among Fools* : For, those the Father's stone and excruciate by neglect, as the Jews did the *Prophets*. Their Sons may raise Monuments, and curse their Ancestors, that out of fear to detect their own Ignorance, barred the Gates of Preferment against all more able than themselves to have paved a way to future Felicity : It being the ordinary Mode, if not Policy of the World, to keep Folly at the Helm, and Wit under the Hatchet.

27. One may attain to a higher Degree of Honour and Power under a Monarch, than can be found room for in a Republick ; as is apparent in some Favourites that have had the Administration of all Affairs. Yet in my Opinion, this is abundantly recompensed in the Multitude, which the latter employs who are securer in what they enjoy, in not being subject to the Passions of a single Judgment.

Republicks lie most obnoxious to popular Commotions, Monarchies to clandestine Attempts : in the first it is not safe to be found, unless they be so epidemic

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cal as may more than probably assure success: in the latter not decent for a person of Honour, though warranted by never so much Security: no Hands being more loathsome than those that smell of Blood and Treachery.

28. Though Law perish (a thing unlikely, being the Guard of all Peace) yet Oratory will still keep in repute, as having more Affections to work upon in a Republick, than a Monarchy; one Judgment being easier forestalled than many: So that I may safely presage, if a golden Tongue fall under a subtle Head, it may have a great Influence upon the whole Senate.

29. Though I hope I have no reason to be confident you will accomplish the presage, divers long since made of your future sufficiency; Yet I should advise not to extend it by any publick Demonstration, beyond the limits of your own Profession: since the Study of the Law being esteemed by all a full employment for a whole Man, if you should make a considerable Digression into another Calling, it might occasion a Jealousie in your Clients, you had neglected your own. The several Books, incomparable BACON was known to read, besides those relating to Law, were objected to him, as an Argument of his Insufficiency to manage the place of Solicitor General, and may lie as a Rub in all their Ways, that shall out of vain-glory, to manifest a General Knowledge, neglect this Caution.

30. Avoid in your Pleadings such unnecessary Digressions, as some of the Long Robe do ordinarily make, from the Merit of the Cause, to the Defamation of the contrary Party: A Quicksand wherein Coke, the Leviathan of the Law, mired his repute.

repute. Nor could he divest this Vanity after he was made a *Judge*; from which height it cast him to the hazard of his Neck, had not the soft Nature of King *James* broke his Fall. Nor doth the *Antiquity* of it plead a better excuse, than that he retained the effeminate and weaker part, leaving the *Roman Elegancy* unimitated.

31. At a Conference to speak last, is no small Advantage; as Mr. *John Hambden* wisely observed, who made himself still the Goal-keeper of his Party, giving his Opposites leisure to lose their Reasons in the loud and less significant Tempest, commonly arising upon a first Debate; in which, if he found his side worsted, he had the dexterous Sagacity to mount the Argument above the Heads of the major part: Whose single Reason did not seldom make the whole *Parliament* so far suspicious of their own, as to approve his, or at least give time for another Debate, by which he had the Opportunity to muster up more Forces; thus by confounding the weaker, and tiring out the acuter Judgments, he seldom failed to attain his Ends.

32. If you be to Vote in any *Publick Assembly*, avoid, as much as you may, giving concession under your Hand to any private Man's written Opinions: For you cannot, without Experiment, believe how much your own Judgment will be altered, and how crude your former Reasons will appear to your self, after they are ruminated and digested by Debate. Having since these Wars been admitted to *Councils*, where many of no great Capacity have assisted, I never knew any thing come so exactly framed out of one Man's Sense, that did not receive a palpable Amendment from the Debates of sometimes much inferior Judgments: Nay, I have known some that have had the fortune to

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start the *Idea*, which when it hath been presented to them again in a perfect *Result*, have not been able to see the bottom of the Wisdom of it, without much Difficulty and Admiration: Neither is this miraculous, but natural; For the *Fuller*, *Dier*, *Weaver*, &c. understand not each others Trades, yet between them all, a good Piece of Cloth is made.

33. As excellent *Painters* were not wont to fix upon a single Beauty, but did Borrow an *Eye* of this, and a *Lip*, *Nose*, &c. from others, out of which was formed an exquisite *Venus*: so shall you do well to propose more than one for Imitation, the only way to render you Compleat: Since a Man absolute in all Points hath not yet risen, within the Circle of the largest Experience. Which renders them Obnoxious to Censure, rather than Commendations, before Death hath deprived them of the Sense of either: Envy that Feeds only upon Infirmities, receiving a more favourable Audience from the generality than the loudest desert; the Progress of whose *Detraction* doth commonly terminate at the Grave; after which she is as Intemperate in their praise by way of Comparison with those Alive, as she was Malitious to them at their being here; where none are so Exact, no not in that very profession, which they have made it the study of their Lives to be perfect in, but that in some things they lie open to Reproof, as I could instance in that *course* you have Chosen, where many taken for Tutors, would not have been thought worth the following were they now in being (as their Contemporaries know) who had the true Smack of the *Pottage* before the *Coloquintida* was corrected by the *Earth*, the Womb of Forgetfulness, some wanting *Elocution*, others *Confidence*, and many owners of these; *Moderation*: It lying in the Power

Power of a foolish Custom or Gesture to render the most able ridiculous; Men's Eyes, no less than their Judgments being Blind towards themselves: For though the *Client* loves him that Speaks much and Loud, the *Court* favours those are modest and pertinent. This I tell you, that you should not take all for current Gold you see glistening in Opinion, nor all for Dross and Counterfeit which hath not had the Fortune to receive the impress of her Approbation.

34. Before I came to have Leisure to observe them, I thought *Princes* and *Ministers of State* something above Humane; Not hearing a Word fall from them, upon which I did not put a politick construction: But growing more Familiar with them, I found their Discourses mingled with the same *Follies*, ours are; and their Domestical Affairs carried on with as little, if not less Discretion sometimes than ordinary Men's.

35. He that seeks *Perfection on Earth*, leaves nothing New for the Saints to find in Heaven: For whilst Men teach, there will be mistakes in Divinity; and as long as no other govern, Errors in the State: Therefore be not Licorish after *Change*, lest you muddy your present Felicity with a future greater, and more sharp Inconvenience.

36. Those that Impute their good *Success* to *Chance*, or rather *Providence* (unto which none can be too Liberal, since every thing proceeds from it) rebate the Point of *Envy* far more than such as fasten them upon their own *Wisdom* or *Valour*, in which many pretend an ample share, that may easily be brought to confess themselves exceeded in *Luck*. And most Men are willing to imploy or follow his Conduct that lies under the high Esteem
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of a *Favourite to Fortune*; who are ever acceptable in the *Courts of Princes*, because they Create more Hope than Jealousie; All being apter to reverence Love, than Maligen such as they think Operate under the Favourable Aspect of the Omnipotent God: which Opinion attained, it Breeds no less confidence in Friends than it strikes Terrour into Enemies.

37. As I would have you primarily intend stopping of the Leaks in your own Bottom, if called to the Helm (from which in *Free States* none are Exempt) so you must by no Means Neglect the repairing the broken Fortunes of others found to be of excellent Parts, who if not made Friends by Preferment, may prove Dangerous to a New-founded State; Neither are *Preferments* so scarce, or these so Numerous, but that their is Provision enough for them in these Three Nations: I confess Queen Elizabeth most Happy in this, which preserved her from Civil Wars: Whose Foundations are commonly laid by Artificers too subtile to be discovered: Flames, as in Hay or Straw, may be kindled in the more combustible People, by such Foxes as shall appear rather to carry Water, then Fire-Brands; Nothing in Experience being found no more Mortal than an unseasonable Commendation from an eloquent Tongue, or a forced compliance from a discontented Politician. The *Consistory* and *Jesuites* maintain throughout the World the Traffick of Sedition and privy Conspiracie, yet have had so much Wit, as to Land it in *Presbyterian* Bottoms, and to cover their disobedience to Governours under the attempts of the *Anabaptists*, that naturally Acknowledge none. The Truth is, if Wise Men will make it their Business, they may be easily able, where the People are unsettled, to obstruct all Good, and Promote much evil,

evil, under the specious pretences of *Religion* and *Safety*: Therefore far cheaper pleased than discontented; being otherwise in true Policy, capable of no slighter Security than shall be able to cut off all Hope or Desire of future Revenge: The consideration of which, though it cannot make me altogether approve, yet it abates my Severity in the Condemnation of that Legillator, * said to have *Writ his Laws in Blood*, which might be more suitable to the Complexion of some Times, than may possibly hitherto have been thought.

38. The like may be Imagined of *Men Proscribed*, who between Thirst of Revenge, and a desire of returning, do not seldom promote their Countries Ruine. This also may Authorize their Tenets, that hold *Punishing Children* with the loss of Goods for their *Fathers Crimes*, as Dangerous as Unjust. And under this Head may be reduced all *Penal Laws*, laid upon Faults not really prejudicial to the State: Nor can a too rigid Scrutiny, either after Personal lapses in Manners, or uncouth Tenets in Religion, produce any good Effects to a *Commonwealth* where no *Inquisition* is, which under the *Papacy* draws the Envy wholly upon the *Church*, made incapable not only by Custom, but an Awful Reverence of all Revenge.

39. Another Errour may happen (especially where a *Free-State* is founded in Arms) by conceding too great a Power to the *Souldiery*; who, like the Spirits of Counjurers, do oftentimes tear their Masters and Raisers in Pieces, for want of other

* *DRACO*, an *Athenian-Law-giver*, whose *Laws* by reason of their Severity, were said to be *Writ in Blood*, and therefore were all repealed by *Solon*, except Those against *Murder*.

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Employment. Therefore since it is beyond the plenty of any Nation to Propotion a Reward suitable to the Opinion they have of their own Merit, it behoves the Supream Power to Bury their Covetousness and Ambition in the Fields of others by a Foreign War, yet as little to their Discontent as may be; always giving them the Honour of good Servants, though bad Masters: Remembring that the Cause you raised them for, is not so deep buried, but it may rise again to the Terror of all that withstand it.

40. Neither can *the Clergy* be rendred with less Danger, Despicable than Great; both these extremes equally crossing the ways of Peace: Yet more safety possibly may Accrue from estating them in so comfortable a competency, as the losing of it may Create Fear, than such a Power as they have in other Nations, found by experience to produce Pride and Ambition, besides an encroachment on the Peoples Liberty, whose Natures they are used to Warp towards any side, by the Hope and Terror they raise in their Consciences in Relation to another World; the exploding of which belief would be no less Diminution to the Reverence of the *Civil Magistrate*, than the Profit of the *Priest-Hood*.





V. RELIGION.



READ the Book of God with Reverence, and in things Doubtful take fixation from the Authority of the Church, which cannot be Arraigned of a damnable Errour, without questioning that Truth, which hath proclaimed her proof against the Gates of Hell. This makes me wish that our Sampsons in success, who have stript her of her Ornaments (Riches, Powers, and Honours which the Ancient Piety left her to cover her Nakedness withal) and given them to vain Expounders of Riddles, may not one Day have cause to repent, when they find themselves Annoyed, no less than the Eyes of Truth put out by the Dust and Rubbish the fall of so great and antique a Frame is likely to make. Therefore be content to see your Judgment wade, rather than Swim in the Sense of the Scriptures; Because our deep Plungers have been often observed to bring up Sandy Assertions, and their Heads wrapt about with the venomous Weeds of Errour and Schism; which may for the present discountenance the Endeavours of modester Learning yet will, no doubt, Sink and Vanquish, after some time and Experience had of their frequent Mistakes,

having nothing but Arguments to oppose, Blunted through Prejudice arising from a contrary Practice.

4. Despise not a profession of Holiness, because it may be true; but have a care how you trust it, for fear it should be false: The Coat of Christ being more in fashion than his Practice, Many Pulpit-men, like Physicians, forbidding their Patients, that, you may ordinarily find on their own Trenchers.

5. Hypocrisy, though looked upon by the Church (the Spouse of Christ) as a gaudy and painted Adulteress yet if she passeth undiscovered, the result is not so dangerous as that of open Prophaneness: Therefore shun all occasions of scandal, which commonly arise from drink, whose Followers have their Lapses scored on every Wall.

6. Criticisms and curious Questions in School Divinity may whet the Wit, but are detected for dulling the edge of Faith, and were never famous for Edification; and though looked upon in these last Centuries as the right hand of Learning, yet better cut off than used as they have long served, for Weapons of Contention: Devised to puzzle the Laity and render the Clergy no less necessary than honourable: who have work enough cut out for them till Dooms day, to resolve which is least suitable to the Divine Essence, to have bound the Hands of Men or left them at liberty. By this a Constraint must needs be put upon us or our Maker, &c. which considered renders it the more strange why School-men pass for Saints, and Arminians in some Judgments for, &c. (Devils.)

7. I can approve of none for Magisterial Divinity, but that which is found floating in the unquestioned sense of the Scriptures: Therefore when cast upon

upon a place that seems equally inclined to different Opinions, I would advise to count it as Bowers do. for dead to the present Understanding; and not to torture the Text by measuring every nicety, but rather turn to one more plain, referring to that, all Disputes; without knocking one hard place against another, as they have done since this Iron Age, till an unquenchable Fire of Contention is kindled, and so many jarring and uncertain Sounds of Religion heard. as Men stand amazed, not knowing which to follow, all pretending to be in the right, as if it were possible for Truth to contradict her self.

8. I grant the *Socinians* are not at this time unworthily looked upon, as the most Chymical and Rational part of our many Divisions; Yet going contrary to the antient *Canons of the Church*. (esteemed in the School of the Fathers. the best Grammar of a Christian's Creed) and wanting the principal Butresses of Prescription, Universality and Consent, to uphold the Convenience, and justify the truth of their Doctrine, I cannot award them so much Approbation as they seem in Reason to plead for: yet are so far confident, that if just Proof can be made of their adulterating the Faith of Antiquity, few Professions extant can justly take up the first Stone against them, who upon a conscientious Scrutiny, may possibly appear equally culpable: However, such as call them *Arians*, do not think they honour them with a former universal Consent, *Athanasius* only excepted: And other less probable Opinions may learn this Candor and Charity from them, not to bar Heaven Gates against all Professions but their own; or, like our Retailers of new Lights, pull Passengers into their Preaching-Houses by the Sleeves, as if all wanted Religion but themselves.

9. And as the *Socinian Doctrine* appears too airy, high and Mercurial for ordinary Capacities, whose Understandings are usually consumed, like *Jupiter's Mistress*, in the splendid Commerce of such sublime Speculations; so the *Roman* is too Earthy and Saturnine, participating of the dross of *Merit, Images, Indulgences, &c.* Which convinceth her of so much worldly respect, as she stands condemned by all, but such as are betrayed to her Devotion through Ignorance, Profit, or Honour, on the one Hand, or chained to her Obedience by the Iron Inquisition on the other.

10. Yet were not *Purgatory*, with the rest of the *Romish Goblins*, obtruded as Articles of Faith. I should be less scandalized at them; in hope by accident they might occasion good: Finding human Nature so childish, as to be sooner scared, than persuaded out of the dark Entries of Sin: the real Rod not being so terrible in the hand of the Magistrate as these Phantasms, which Tradition and the Priests subtilty hath formed in the People's Brains.

11. But in conclusion, you will find the *Reformation* most conformable to the Duty we owe to God, and the Magistrate; if not too phlegmatick in passing by decent Ceremonies, or too cholerick and rigid in obtruding upon weak and tender Consciences.

12. And yet it was no unhappy Rencontre in him that said, *A good Religion might be composed out of the Papist's Charity, the Puritan's Words and the Protestant's Faith*: For where *Works* are thought too chargeable, outward *Profession* too combersome, the third renders it self suspected: The two first being only palpable to Sense and Reason, stand firm like a Rock; whereas the other shakes under the weight

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of every Phanſy, as *Peter* did when he walked up-
on the Sea: To ſpeak *Engliſh*. In good Works, none
can be deceived but the Doer, in valuing them
too high; in the two latter all but God, who on-
ly knows the Heart.

13. I confeſs the *Millenaries* are of ſo joval a
Creed, as I could be content it ſtood with the
Will of God, I might herd with them; who, if
not approved, I do not find condemned by any
Council, at leaſt for the firſt Three Hundred
Years.

14. But for the vagabond *Schiſmatick*, he is ſo
fiery, as he cannor laſt long unconſumed; being
ready upon the leaſt Advantage to melt all into ſe-
dition; not ſparing to burn the Fingers of Govern-
ment longer than they ſhower down Offices and
Preferments upon him; whining for a Sanctity
here, God never yet truſted out of Heaven: There-
fore incapable of Quiet but under a ſevere Re-
ſtraint, or an abſolute Liberty.

15. And our new *Levelling-Opinions*; though they
ſeem to tranſcribe their Authority, from the no-
leſs inimitable than miraculous Practice of the
Primitive times, ſtand (if taken at the fartheſt
extent) in ſo diametrical an Oppoſition to all Hu-
man Felicity, as not likely to proceed from the
Lord of Order: Being, if Lights in ſuch dark
Lanthorns, as rob human Society of all Reward,
and conſequently, endeavour of Deſert: Yet the
Owners, though unconstant in their new-Ways,
pronounce it damnable to keep the old.

16. It is obſervable in the preſent Humour, that
 thoſe who carry an Impreſs of the wildſt Errors,
have a ſafer Paſſport to travel by, and a nearer

step to Preferment than such as retain the Tenets our Fathers kept in *groſe*, during the Flames of the ancient Persecutions, and by retail under the Modern: making the Honour of that Doctrine scandalous, for which our Ancestors were not ashamed to die; who art by this rendred the worst of Murderers, as having through Obstinacy, been guilty of their own Death.

17. Will not such Proceedings incline to *Anarchy*? and that proving loathsome to all, make room for the old or some more acceptable Family, if not for Conquest by a foreign Nation? Because People lying uneasily, are apt to such Tumbings and Changes, as cannot but at last bring them under a Power, strong enough to constrain, or cunning enough to persuade them, with a pretence of Holiness and Righteousness, to a mutual Compliance, in relation to a change of Government. Of the first there are Multitudes of Examples throughout all Prophane Histories; of the latter few but Sacred where the Jews under *Moses* being led by the miraculous Hand of God, are not capable to be comprized under the erring Axioms of human Policy. As for *Mahomet*, he rolled on his untutored Rabble, by mixing Profit and Rapine with his Religion, which he left uncertain, grounding his Precepts upon success, ever owned as dropped upon them out of Heaven; making himself still confident of the Event, which I cannot undertake; therefore unable in these Aphoretick times, to give you better Counsel, than to keep your Compliance so loose, as, if possible, you may fix it to the best Advantage of your Profit and Honour.

18. Nevertheless, though a high palpable and external Zeal is taken, by the present Age, as a Mark of Confidence, yet I cannot look upon it with

with such Affection, because screwed up to these Altitudes in many, by the wooden pins of Worldly respects; Not likely to hold longer in Tune, than a Harmony can be made among all Parties, now possibly at odds, or under a jealous Aspect: Therefore I advise you to put no more of it on, than with Decency you may devest, in case the *Fashion* should alter, and the *Rich* die the Wars have dipt it in, be *Rubbed off*; since all customs Rise or Fall proportionable to the Exchange they make for the Preferments in the State; to which in discretion you are Bound to suit your Obedience, though not your Conscience. For I would have my perswasions understood to reach only to what is consonant to Religion; which doth not Bind you to choake your Fortunes with the Criticisms of such Postilliers of the Age, as value their Interpretations of Scripture above Liberty or Life. And by this overweaning, one Century makes *Martyrs* of those, the precedent, thought *Hereticks*; and such *Liberators* of their Country, as were formerly held *Traitors*.

19. Keep then your *Conscience* tender, but not so Raw, as to Wince and Kick at all you understand not; nor let it baffle your Wit out of the bounds of Discretion, as such do that suffer themselves to be moved by it. To prevent which, keep *Reason* always in your Eye; whose light ought never to be lost in any Worldly Actions, and but eclipsed in what relates to Heaven: The Tribunal of *Conscience* being erected in our Soul, to detect our Miscarriages, not to betray our well-being, and therefore subordinate not only to a superlative Athority, but also our own Honest, Safe, and wholesome Conveniencies. Neither is *Conscience* seldom misled by Education, Custom and the false Representations of Teachers, who benighted in the dark

Interests of Covetousness and Ambition, seek to Lodge others under the Roof of such Institutes as they believe not themselves, yet employ all their Art, Sufficiency and Endeavour, to make them pass for Authentick, and the pure Mind of God; like Juglers, that beguile our Senses with *what is not*, to have the better Opportunity to pick our Pockets of what is *really useful* to themselves: For as the more Subtile Wind got into the Narrow and delicate parts of our Body, is able to Act the *Stone, Gout*, and other most acute Diseases, not really present. So doth *Superstition* represent in this changeable and Concave-Glass of a suborned *Conscience*, things for sinful, that are indeed but Natural and indifferent; and others Pious, that are really Vain and Destructive: The prosecution of which leads readily to Atheism, or an over-biased Holiness, which prosecutes all that carry the impress of any contrary Tenets.

20. Fly that self-murdering Tyrant *obstinacie*, who, like our Witches is not seldom, found to pamper the Imps of Heresie with her own Blood: Being not only now, but from all Antiquity, able to bring Clouds of Witnesses to the stake, for the Proof of the wildest Opinions. And, if I am not much mistaken, from the reverberation of her heat, the Flames of the Ancient Persecution, as well as those that followed, were at least increased, if not kindled.

21. All Religions but ours, are accounted Idolatrous; and *Idolatry* is a misprision of the true *Worship*, in lieu of which some other is intruded upon Belief, more catching to Sense and Auspicious to Legislators Designs, than that purer Reverence due only to the Honour and perfect will of God: before which it is very Ordinary with un sanctified

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Politicians to interject such false *Mediums* as may flatter or terrify their Subjects into an awful Obedience of themselves and their Laws. Therefore, since nothing in *external Worship* can be performed but in some Posture, or after this or that manner, which Unity and Time will soon make general, and so concoct what was formerly indifferent into a religious Ceremony; by which, *Superstition*, if not *Idolatry*, hath stolen into the *Roman Church*; who by imposing a necessity upon what was at first possibly a Mistake or a meer extravagancy, have bred such a Reverence in their People towards things proceeding perhaps from no higher Inspiration than the Breath of Authority that they expect no Salvation without them; which fond over-weaning may justly bring many laudable *Customs*, derived to us from an unquestioned ancient Tradition, into the same predicament the *Brazen Serpent* fell, when by the *Jews* it was abused to *Idolatry*: which, though a *Type* of our Saviour was it self without question lawfully *disfigured*: This makes me confess, that though I honour ancient Tradition with the highest (Veneration) I cannot be of that spirit to contest for her (or against her) unto Blood; But do rather believe the cruel Contention begun between the *Greek* and *Latin Churches* about the time of *Easter*, resulted from Ambition more than Piety, as may appear by the unhappy Consequences of that Strife. This may persuade to a Conformity with such Governments, as shall explode former Modes used in the external Worship of God: the Question, *Who required these Things at your Hands?* may one day prove as hard to resolve, and cause no less Astonishment than fell upon him interrogated, *How camest thou in hither not having a wedding Garment?* understood of Endowments far more essential to Salvation, than any human Constitutions can be.

22. As it is manifest, that most Princes and Men in Power (the not unlikeliest to know Truth, because it is suspected they did at first disguise it) make no more account of Religion, than the Profit and Conveniency it brings, is able to compensate; So the unbiassed Rabble, if once emancipated out of the Fetters, their former Creed confined them to, value the Church, as they do the Old Coins they dig up, which they take for Counters, because they find them subject to rust, and are not able by reason of their Roman Inscriptions (*the Character of the Beast*, which Opinion rather than Judgment imagines them branded withal) to make them pass in the strict Commerce of these intoxicated times: whereby they exchange that for baser Metal, which in it self perhaps is pure Gold, only attached unhappily by the Cankers and Corruption of Age, easier scoured off than melted.

23. But if St. Peter's pretended Successor, the Pope, be found guilty of such erroneous Mistakes, it cannot be so much as a Solœcism in Reason with our SEEKERS* to place St. Thomas in the Chair; believing, like him, no more than lies patent to human Understanding, which is as much as can decently be imposed upon a new Believer without a Miracle: Reason being all the Touchstone besides, left in our Hands, to distinguish this Gold from the Dross, they pretend our Religion hath contracted. The Scripture alone seeming unable, by reason of her divers Readings, and the several Sounds, variety of Expositions have put upon it, to decide all Differences: Besides the long abroad she hath made at Rome (where who knows whether or no,

* One, of the many Sects hatch'd under the Anarchy of Oliver Cromwell.

or how far that Bishop hath put in his Foot ?) may render her in some Opinions, suspected, as participating of the like Corruptions, we see manifested in Translations : So as it may possibly be wished, Learning had never taken her out of the Hands of *Tradition* : where for many Years she remained with more quiet than ever she enjoyed since she grew domestical with all sorts of Understandings, who have been connived at by the State (how prudently I dare not determine) whilst they cut her more short, or extended her longer, as best fitted their Ends and Occasions. Now if *Faith* be not allowed to be taken implicitly from the Authority of any Church, a freedom of Choice, by consequence will result to all, by which Salvation must be wrought out : And in this Wilderness of Contentions we have no better guide to follow than *Reason*, found the same for many Thousands of Years, though *Belief* hath been observed to vary every Age. And since so considerable a falshood is thought to be discovered by our Governours, in the Clergie's Tenet, for the *Impunity of Kings* ; why may not their poor Subjects be unsatisfied about the Place They shall receive their own Reward or Punishment in, after this Life ; or what else may befall these dusty Bodies of *Ours* ? Yet I say not this to diminish your *Faith*, but to encrease your *Charity* towards tender Consciences, who may pretend cause enough to doubt, Though my single Judgment is still ready to determine for *Antiquity* : which I would have you reverence, but not conclude *infallible* ; yet I should take her Word sooner in *Divinity* than any other *Learning*, because that is clearest at the beginning all Studies else more muddy, receiving clarification from Experience.

All Truth familiar unto Mortals is only legible by the Eye of *Reason* : *Revelation*, *Prophecie*, &c. being Strangers now to *Flesh*, and ever too high elevated

vated for the perpetual Commerce of such weak Creatures who may sometimes enjoy a glimmering of them as the *Northern-Inhabitants* do of the *Sun* in Winter: not permanent longer than they are able to fan away the dark Clouds of Infidelity, which dims the Light upon the Absence of the Extasie: Whereas *Reason* passeth in an universal Commerce being of an unquestioned allay and therefore likeliest to be the Oracles of the everliving God; said by *Solomon* to have squared the Bars of the Earth by her Rule, and so not improbably supposed to have measured out a Way to Heaven by her Line. *St. Paul* allows the Notice of God's Universal Goodness for a sufficient Evidence to convince the disobedient Heathen; and may not the same as well save the faithful Observers of the purer Law of Nature? shall the righteous Judge of all things be found with two Weights, one to save, another to damn by? *Reason* only commands Belief, all things else beg it, so far as the most stupendous Miracles that ever were cannot confute, though 'tis possible they may silence it for a time; But Belief changeth and impairing or mending implies a wearing out Imperfections *Reason* is incapable of remaining the same for ever, as the most faithful Guide to our Maker.

24. It is no less worthy your Observance than Admiration that some of the wild *Indians* and other People by us, stiled barbarous, are yet more strangers to the unfociable Sins of Improbity, Covetousness &c. than such as pretend to advance their Conversion: Of which this may be a Reason, that whilst they remain constant to the pure Dictates of Nature, they imagine no Meditation to secure their Hopes or screen their Fears, conceived to depend on another Life, but their own Endeavours which might give *Paul* an Occasion to pronounce

nounce them a *Law to themselves*; and therefore possibly within the compass of God's secret Grace; it being our Saviour's own Confession to him that had kept the Commandments, that nothing wanted but the sale of his *Propriety*: a Term these understand not having all in Common and if the last part be looked upon as omitted, I would fain know who follows his Master best. He that comes loaden with what he is able, and goes as far as he can with him; or else he that hath lost it all, or is lazy and lies down by the way: Acceptance being a far easier grant than Pardon?

25. *Religions* do not naturally differ so much in themselves, as fiery and uncharitable Men pretend; who do not seldom persecute those of their own Creed, because they profess it in other Terms. Then do not only ask thy Conscience what is Truth, but give her full Leisure to resolve thee: For he that goes out of the Way with her Consent, is likelier to find Rest, than he that plods on without taking her Directions.

Therefore do nothing against the Council of this Guide, though she is observed in the World to render her Owners obnoxious to the Injury and Deceit of all that converse without her: *Nothing being more hard and chargable to keep than a good Conscience.*

26. Let no seeming Opportunity prevail so far upon your *Curiosity*, as to intice you to an Inspection into your future Fortune; since such Inquisitiveness was never answered with good Success: The World, like a Lottery affording Multitudes of Blanks, for one Prize which reduced all into a Sum must by a necessary Consequence, render the remainder of Life tedious, in removing present Felicities, to make room for the Contemplation of future Miseries.

Do.

Do not pre-engage *Hope* or *Fear* by a tedious expectation, which may lessen the pleasure of the first, yet cannot but aggravate the weight of the latter, whose arrival is commonly with a less train of Inconveniencies than this Harbinger strives to take up Room for. *Evil Fortune* being no less inconstant than *Good*: Therefore render not thy self giddy, by poring on *Despair*, nor wanton with the Contemplation of *Hope*.

27. Stamp not the Impress of a *Divine Vengeance* upon the Death or Misfortunes of others, though never so prodigious; for fear of penning a Satire against your self, in case you should fall under the same Chance: Many things being taken up as dropped out of an immediate celestial Hand, that fell from a no higher pitch than where God in his providence hath placed such Events, as wait upon all Times and Occasions which Prayers and Prudence are not able always to shrowd you from: Since upon a strict Enquiry, it may appear, that in relation to this World, the Godly have as little cause to brag, as the Wicked to complain.

28. Be not easily drawn to lay the foul Imputation of *Witchcraft* upon any, much less to assist at their *Condemnation*, too common among us; For who is sufficient for these things, since we are as ignorant in the Benevolences as Malignities of Nature? *Mad Men* presenting in their Melancholy Extasies, as prodigious Confessions and Gestures, as are objected to these no less infatuated People. And if this Humour hath so far prevailed with some, as to take themselves for Urinals, Wolyes, and what not; can it seem impossible for those, invaded by all the Causes of Discontent, to imagine themselves Authors of what they never did? Most of these strange Miracles they suppose, being hatched by the

the Heat of Imagination, or snatched out of the huge Mass of Contingences, such a Multitude of Individuals as the World produceth, cannot choose but stumble upon; Neither may it be admitted, with due Reverence to the Divine Nature. That Prophecy should cease, and Witches so abound, as seems by their frequent Executions, which makes me think the strongest Fascination is incircled within the Ignorance of the Judges, Malice of the Witnesses, or Stupidity of the poor Parties accused.

29. Be not therefore hasty to register all you understand not, in the black Calender of Hell, as some have done the *Weapon-Salve*, * passing by the Cure of the *Kings evil*, altogether as improbable to Sense: Neither rashly condemn all you meet with that contradicts the common received Opinion, lest you should remain a Fool upon record, as the Pope doth, that anathematized the Bishop of Salzburg, for maintaining *Antipodes*, and the *Confistory*, that may possibly attain the same Honour, for decreeing against the probable Opinion of the *Earth's Motion*: Since the branding of One Truth imports more Disrepute than the broaching of Ten Errors: These being only Lapses in the search of new Reason, without which there can be no Addition to Knowledge: That, a murdering of it, when by others greater Wit and Industry it is begotten; not to be accounted less than an unpardonable Sin against the Spirit of Learning. Therefore mingle Charity with Judgment, and temper your Zeal with Discretion, so may your own Fame be preserved, without intrenching upon that of others.

* For a particular Account of the *Weapon-salve*, See Mr. Hales's *Golden Remains*, 8vo. p. 355.

Fall not out with *Charity*, though you find for the most part, *Ingratitude* lying at her Gate: which God hath contrived, the better to reserve requital to himself.

30. As he offers an high Indignity to the *Divine Nature* that robs God of his Honour, by owning Thoughts of him unsuitable to the Dictates of Reason (the exactest Engine we have to measure him by out of the Volume of his Word.) So doth he offend no less against *Probity* that detains another's *due*, contrary to Justice and the Clamours of his own Conscience; whereby he makes himself and his Posterity Heirs to the Curse, which the Wheel of Providence, moved by the Breath of God's first *Fiat*, doth usually stamp upon those, that endeavour to deface the Impress of Goodness and Equity, which appeared in all things at the beginning. Therefore be not forward to promote any *destructive Tenents*, or *licentious* after such ill gotten *Estates*, as the Law of Power may for a small Sum be wooed to possess you of out of an Hope to engage you or a Fear they might revert in case they were not diffused amongst a Multitude of Owners.

Make not Law, or the Power you may possibly exercise in the *Common-wealth* instrumental to your private Malice: No Murders being so bloody, as those committed by the Sword of Justice.

31. Let not the Cheapness or Conveniency of Church Lands tempt you to their purchase: For though I have not observed Vengeance so nimble in this World, as Divines pretend; yet what Prudence is there to submit all your future Success to be measured out, by so severe Expositions, as Churchmen usually make of *Sacrilegious Persons*, which all are register'd to be, that meddle with their

their Revenues? Besides the Danger and Shame of refunding, in case a contrary Zeal should repossess the People; whose Clamours and Warrant cannot be thought less sufficient to obliterate your Title, than the former; written, as may be supposed, with more authentick Ink.

32. Denounce no Enmity against the Clergy: For supported by Prayers or Policy, they cannot long want an Opportunity to revenge themselves. Neither oppose any Religion you find established, how ridiculous soever you apprehend it; For though like David, you may bring unavoidable Arguments to stagger a popular Error. None but the Monster's own Sword, can cut off the Head of one universally received,

Run not hooting after every new Light you may observe to wander about; nor endeavour by a tumultuous Dispute to puff it out: For he that will not quench the smoking Flax, may possibly accept of a Lamp composed of no richer Stuff than Ruffies:

33. Grudge not Tithes to the Teachers of the Gospel assigned for their Wages by the divine Legislator; Of whose Institutes this was none of the least profound. That the Tribe of Levi were prohibited all other Revenue, than what was deducible out of the tenth Part of the other eleven's Increase: setting Bounds thereby to all the Improvement, their Wisdoms, and the Tye the Priesthood had over the People's Consciences, might in the future possibly make, in causing their Maintenance to rise and fall proportionable to the general Standard of the Nation's Felicity; which this Limitation obliged them to promote, and for their own Sakes, to oppose all Incroachments likely to interrupt their Brethren's Utility.

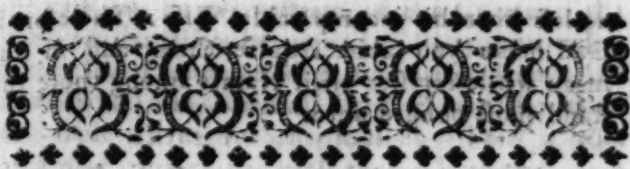
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This prompts me to believe, that if the like Salary were assigned here, we might promise to our selves the same Success; provided the Sovereign Power reserved in their own Hands the Collation of *Benefices*, without giving leave to any *Stipendiaries* or *Lecturers*, that signify little less than an *Anti-clergy*: And to persuade this, there may be more Reason, than the narrow project of this Discourse is able to find room for.

34. Yet I cannot but by the way mind you of the superlative *Wisdom* of *Moses*, who lest one sacrilegious Injury should have proved a Precedent for a greater (had the People made a Benefit by the Spoil) employed the *Censers* of *Corah* and his Complices to make Plates for the *Altar*: But finding the *Gold* of *Idols* too rank, decently to be used in the Service of God, he reduced them to Dust, and threw them into the River: lest the Multitude having been fleshed on a *Calf*, a false Deiry, should after assume the Boldness, to rob the true One, and those his *Institutes* appointed to live by his Service.

35. And here it may not improperly be said, that Cardinal *Wolsey* was ignorant of or had forgot this Aphorism of Policy, when he pulled down *Monasteries* to build *Colleges*; by which he instructed that docile Tyrant *Henry the Eight* to improve the same: There being nothing so warden to demolish the Results of Zeal and Ignorance than Learning and Knowledge: Neither did he discover himself a more accomplished Courtier, when he laid the Foundation of a *Grave* for a living King; who could not be delighted with the Sight of a *Tomb*, though never so magnificent, having lived in so high a Sensuality, as I may doubt, whether he would then have exchanged it for the Joys of Hea-

Heaven it self. I instance in this, as a fit Example to dissuade you from thinking it Discretion or Manners to use *Funerous discourses before Princes or Men in power*; who hate nothing so much, as the thought of their *own Mortality*, and therefore unlikely to be pleased with the *Messengers* of it.



VI. The CONCLUSION.



BEAR always a filial reverence to your dear Mother and let not her Old Age, if she attain it, seem tedious unto you; Since that little she may keep from you will be abundantly recompenced, not only by the Prayer; but by the tender Care she hath and ever will have of you: Therefore in case of my Death (which Weariness of the World will not suffer me to adjourn, so much as by a Wish) do not proportion your respect by the Mode of other Sons but to the greatness of her desert, beyond requital in relation to us both.

2. Continue in Love and Amity with your Sister, and in case of Need, help her what you are able; Remembring, you are of a Piece, and Hers
and

and Yours differ but in Name; which I presume (upon want of Issue) will not be denied to be imposed on any Child of hers, you shall desire to take for your own.

3. Let no time expunge his Memory (Dr. Cr—) that gave you the first Tincture of Erudition: to which he was more invited by Love than Profit, no less than his incomparable Wife: Therefore if God make you able, requite them, and in the mean while register their Names among those you stand most obliged unto.

4. What you leave at your Death, let it be without Controversy, else the Lawyers will be your Heirs.

5. Be not solicitous after Pomp at my Burial, nor use any expensive funeral Ceremony; by which, Mourners, like Crows, devour the Living under pretence of honouring a dead Carcass: Neither can I apprehend a Tombstone to add so great a weight of Glory to the Dead, as it doth of Charge and Trouble to the Living; None being so impertinent wasters, in my Opinion as those that build Houses for the Dead: He that lies under the Herse of Heaven is convertible into sweet Herbs and Flowers, that may rest in such Bosoms, as would shriek at the ugly Bugs, may possibly be found crawling in the Magnificent Tomb of Henry the Seventh: which also hinders the Variety of such contingent Resurrections as unarched Bodies enjoy, without giving Interruption to That, which He, that will not again die, hath promised to such as love him and expect his appearing: Besides, that Man were better forgotten, who hath nothing of greater Moment to Register his Name by, than a Grave.

Contest

Contest not with such frantick People as deny Men the *Burial* formerly called *Christian*: since Unquietness importunes a living Body more than a Ceremony can advantage one that is dead. Neither be too rigid in giving or leaving out the *Title of Saint*, before their Names that appear in the Scripture to have been really such: Since the Practice in both Senses, hath been often abused; the first to an over-estem of the Creature, the latter to the Discouragement of Piety; through a second Martyrdom inflicted upon the Repute of those who laid down all Care of the World, if not their Lives, for the Gospel. Thus a wise Man may convert the most putrid Humours to a pious Use, or where this falls short of a good Conscience, to eke it out with Patience, a far easier Remedy, than a less probable Contention. These and an Hundred other Changes ought not to disturb our Rest, who are less interested in what can happen *after our death*, than in what was extant *before our birth*, no Books being legible in the dark Grave.

6. Neither can I apprehend such Horrour in *Death* as some do that render their Lives miserable to avoid it, meeting it oftentimes by the same way they take to shun it. *Death* if he may be guessed at by his elder Brother *Sleep*, (born before he was thought on, and fell upon *Adam* e'er he fell from his Maker) cannot be so terrible a Messenger, being not without much *Ease*, if not some *Voluptuousness*. Besides, nothing in this World is worth coming from the House-top to fetch it, much less from the deep Grave; furnished with all things, because empty of Desires.

7. And concerning a future Account, I find the Bill to swell, rather than shrink, by continuance;
Or

Or if a stronger propensity to Religion resides in Age, than Youth (which I wish I had no cause to doubt of) it relates more to the temperature of the Body, than any improvement of the Mind; and so unworthy of any other Reward, than what is due to the Effects of Humane Infirmities.

8. To conclude, Let us serve GOD with what Reverence we are able, and Do all the Good we can, making as little unnecessary Work for Repentance, as is possible: And the Mercy of our Heavenly Father supply all our Defects in the Son of his Love, Amen.

Thus I have left you finished (Dear Son) a Picture of the World; in this, at least like it, that is frail and confused; being an Original, not a Copy: No more foreign help having been employed in it, than what my own miserable Experience had imprinted in my Memory. And as you have by Trial already found the Truth of some of These, so I most earnestly beg of you to trust the rest, without thrusting your Fingers, like a Child into those Flames, in which your Father hath formerly been burnt, and so, add by your own purchase, to the multitude of Inconveniencies, he is forced to leave you by Inheritance.

Now You are Taught to Live, there's nothing I Esteem worth Learning, but the Way to Die.



Con.



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A D V I C E
T O A
S O N.

The SECOND PART.

By FRANCIS OSBORN, Esq;

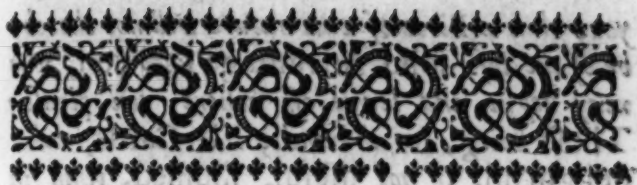
Written in the YEAR 1658.

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The SECOND PART.


By FRANCIS OSBORN, Esq.

Written in the Year 1648.



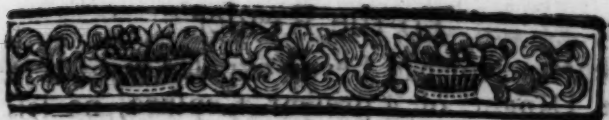
THE
STATIONER
TO THE
READER.



OUR Author, from whom I formerly presented you with a Rope of smaller Pearls; viz. His *Adviso's* thread-ded in a more coherent and exact Method, doth now offer these Bigger ones to your acceptance single and loose; which as they are in magnitude, so may you not unpossibly rate them at a like proportionable Value. Something of Confusion, you know, is taken as a Symbol of Greatness: But I shall only, in the Author's Vindication, pre-acquaint

The Stationer to the Reader.

you, that a Piece of this nature will not thereby be of the less solid Advantage unto you, who may begin and leave off where you please: These being, in all hands, like Cards, more delightful, if not useful, shuffled, than in Suits; through which all sorts may be tempted to read them over, and (so) not improbably gain a Knowledge they would never have sought for, but upon such an omission: wherefore whether you consider the whole Pack, or do but draw here and there, you shall be a Winner. And the Author himself, may have the more time to employ upon somewhat else in order to your service, being freed from the trouble of any nicer sorting these Aphorisms; which really considered, is but the pedantick part of the Writer, and of most use, where there is least intrinsic Worth in a Book to commend it self: The speciousness of the Form not seldom betraying the Reader's Judgment to the swallowing such sordid and refuse Matters, as would be found but a gilded Dog's T--d if taken in Pieces and thoroughly examined.



To my Dear Brother*

WILLIAM DRAPER, Esq;

OF
NETHER WORTON

IN OXFORDSHIRE.

SIR,

Since it is become a general Custom to affix before Books the Names of the Author's best Friends, I could not without calling in question so manifest a Truth as your desert, and running the hazard of being esteemed ungrateful my self, but present you with what follows: for which (however it fares) I shall descend no lower in my Desires, than that your Name may remain as perpetual a Monument to my Merit, as I am confident it will prove of your Goodness, which can never die or be out of Credit: whereas Books are during one Age neatly bound and choicely preserved, and the next, condemned to the basest Employ-

* In Law.

FRANCIS OSBORNE

Oxon. 1728.

ments.

To the Reader.

ments. Nor had I ever exposed my self to the Danger of a present Censure, no less than a future Contempt, but that I gain by *Writing a Diversion from Discontent*, the highest Felicity my Fortune ever gave me leave yet to enjoy: who, notwithstanding the *cold Commendation Authors* find during their *Lives*, shall venture so far on the Constancy of my own Fortune (which some are pleased to call Desert) and the World's Judgment, as to peep abroad again upon my single Security, without so much as desiring your Protection, though a frequent Petition in such like Epistles, or borrowing Commendations from my Acquaintance, more ready to lend me their good Word, than I was ever yet able to deserve it, which doth not seldom betray the Reader into the purchase of an ill Book; or at best, gratifies his Expectation no more than a base and rotten *Inn* can a *Traveller*, because prefaced by a gawdy Sign-Post. All I beg is, that in case it comes short of Applause, you would consider me, not your self, as the Party abused. And not weigh your Acceptance, or my Will to serve you at the common *Beam*, but by the *Standard* of your love, in which you have so far exceeded those of my own Blood, as I cannot but acknowledge you, and subscribe my self

Your most affectionate Brother

Oxon, 1658.

FRANCIS OSBORN.

To the Readers.

TO THE
READERS.

DID all your Heads own a like Mode and Figure, they could not but be fitted with something here might give the Buyer Satisfaction for the Price of the Book: but you are found in the Generality, so contrary to the Camelion (a true Emblem of Hypocrisy, Levity, and Sophistication) as not to take the Colour for what you judge, from the tincture of Sense and Reason, but the py'd and contaminated Constructions fuming from Brains suborned out of Interest, or a contrary Practice to condemn of Errour, Ignorance, or Irreligion, all things though never so modestly proposed, that suit not with their breeding, or fall not within the narrow Circle of their Understanding*. An unsociable Lunacy that lies as far below my Notice, as Fortune, which hath already advanced me (maugre such contrary Endeavours) in the Opinions of sublimer Spirits, not only beyond an ordinary Esteem, but the highest I could ever be tempted to carry of my self. Wherefore though I have formerly numbred it amongst the lowest Impertinencies, to forestal a Readers Accep-

* This Application, is designedly levell'd at those Persons, who censur'd the former Part of this Work.

To the Readers.

tance by any other Courtship than the choicest Endeavour to give him plenary Satisfaction: yet I cannot think it suitable with Gratitude to pass unregarded, so much as hath already been shewn, or to doubt of the like in future: not to be done without calling in Question the Constancy, if not the Judgment of a considerable part of the Nation. And from hence, and no Merit of my own, I do implore this Favour, that in Case any have formerly, or may hereafter be led into Scandal, through a sinister Construction of what I have Written, as dissonant from the Church of England (though a Question I find, if relating to any, it is rather to others Consciences, than mine own) you would excuse, or pass it over as an accidental Lapse, or, which I hope is truer, a meer Mistake, rather arising from a too high Presumption on the Reader's Charity, than any real Defect in mine own; who ever thought it a less Impiety to limit Reason than Faith.

If these Aphorisms (which I protest I pick'd out of waste Papers long since thrown by) appear unsuitable to the Times (perhaps sooner led through Enthusiasts than Theorems) I own not a Forehead bold enough to deny it. Nor did I intend that my Name or Merit should have ever become the Argument of Discourse, but that I found it impossible to conceal it: The Hope of which, and not Ostentation drew me first to the Press; as want of a more profitable Employment tempts me, being made bold through Custom, to feed it.

FRANCIS OSBORN.



A D V I C E T O A S O N.



The SECOND PART.



HOUGH it may without question be reckoned amongst Solomon's common Places of Vanity, yet nothing in this World appears more natural, or affects Imagination with greater Delight, than the Hope Men have that their Names may extend towards Eternity; the essential Cause of the most, if not all, the Good and Evil we find done, by pious Benefactors or destructive Tyrants; whatsoever the first

first may pretend in relation to Religion, or the latter suffer in reference to Policy. The Propagation of Fame, though confessed flatulent Humour, being hardly to be found absent from Fortitude and Charity, or any other Vertue, to Martyrdom it self. Glory being the most acceptable thing we can enjoy here, or hope for hereafter; the Aim both of the covetous and prodigal, the valiant and coward; the one seeking to gain it through the exposing, the other by a more wary Preservation of his Life and Estate; all running through contrary Ways, after the gaudy Ball of Fame; which, though every one desires to find his Name engraven upon, yet none out-reach the Records of Paper, Writing being the most approved Recipe, yet discovered, against consuming Oblivion which infects the Actions of the best of Princes, and benights those of the worst; who do not seldom owe their Repute to Strangers. Wherefore since there cannot be a more innocent and probable way to dilate a Remembrance beyond the Banks of Forgetfulness, than Books; why may not I (indebted to none, but my own dear-bought Experience) be allowed the Vanity (if capable of such a Title) to affix my Name (since unable to build it a more lasting Monument) before these Papers? where it may live, if rescued out of the over-officious and strict Hands of Contemporaries, the most severe Censurers of the Writings of the present Age, who, in the Absence of other juster Pretences, will, rather (than want Matter for Reproof) with the Maligners of the Prophet *Daniel*, pick something to carp at, in relation to God or the Magistracy: Though none are less busy in arraigning the Lapses of Power, or remain more obedient to the Yoke of Government, than such as know there can be no Safety or Propriety without it. Yet many half-witted Men, presuming on the single Warrant of their

th eir own purblind Judgments, do not only over-
str ide the Opinion of the major Part for Number
and Weight; but the Dictates of their own Con-
science; who cannot but know, if they have any
Knowledge at all, That the Wisdom to which So-
lomon perswades, no less than adorns, with so ma-
ny divine Epithets, voting it the Companion of the
Almighty, Artificer of Nature, and without whose As-
sistance nothing ever was, or is, of all that hath been made.
The Director of Angels in the Preservation of Man, and
the Tutor of Man to all the Understanding a Creature is
able to comprehend in reference to its Maker, is thereby
blasphemed in her Children, no less than her King
reproached; as if the Follower of the Paths to
Heaven could be Leaders to Hell, or not rather
Heirs of the rich Donative our blessed Saviour
gives to all who shall knock and seek at the Gates
of eternal Knowledge; where no Voice is intelli-
ble but that of Wisdom, the Dialect of God. Nor
did I ever yet meet the Owner of so impudent a
Presumption, amongst all the Recorders of Reason,
as durst venture our dull and callous Knowledge
against the Activity of an Eagle-winged Faith:
but do confess a little Claudication in their Under-
standings, as Jacob found in his Leg, after a Wrest-
ling with his Maker. Yet since St. Paul draws the
Bill of our Indictment out of the Book of God's
universal Goodness, (to none legible but through
the Light of Reason) it cannot but afford Cause
to magnify the eternal Mercy towards Christians,
in giving them Faith to regulate their Works, and
support their Wisdom, without which it becomes
Foolishness to God; wherefore, in no other Sense
capable of the Name of Knowledge.

2. Neglect or dissemble the Receipt of an Inja-
ry, till Time measure you out a competent Pro-
portion of Charity to forgive, or so much Power

as may requite or condemn it: Lest you convert into a Habit or irreconcilable Enmity, such Words or Actions as might not impossible at first, result from no more bitter a Root than Chance or Mistake in you both. Wherefore no Prudence to put the worst Construction on all you hear or see, as such peevish and melancholy Constitutions do, who like Glasses, retain in their Fancies, as meerly relating to themselves, the Reflections of all Things that pass in their Presence. For since the Eyes, Tongues, and Looks, are the Windows and Doors, no less than the Interpreters of the Hearts of Men, and so the Business of Wisdom, to keep every thing from breaking out, that may be safer hid than revealed; it implies a like Caution ought to be had in reference to that which is suffered to enter. Nor doth the Want of a thorough Inspection into this, seldom spoil the Affairs of Princes, no less than meaner Men's; who by measuring the Person's Will to advance or depress their Designs, accord to such Hopes and Fears as they calculate proportionable to their own former Desert or Inconsiderate Opinion of the Party, mar their Market, not only through a too great Confidence to receive at need, all the Friendship they have dearly paid for, but an Over-jealousy of ill from such as they look upon in their Apprehensions as disobliged. The Exchange of Courtesies or Injuries running high or low, not according to an exact Proportion of Equity, but the Value 'tis rated at, in the Esteem of the Receiver. Thus the old Earl of *Essex*, by placing a greater Confidence in the Citizens of *London*, where he spent his Revenue, than in *Wales*, from whence he received it, denudated himself of the most probable Protection the Extremity of his bad Fortune had left him. His Tenants and Friends being more likely to have proved cordial at a Distance from the Court, than those found to gather their Livelihood.

lihood under the Shadow of it ; and so more probable to increase, than raise a Power in his Favour. Which maturely weighed, proves the Study of Friends and Enemies, the most politick and useful Employment.

3. Despise no Enemy, especially at Court : For where Jealousy holds the Scales, a small Drachm of Detraction will turn the Beam. Men's Lives no less than Fortunes being so unsteady, as they lie obnoxious to blasting by the Breath of far meaner Persons than themselves ; who making use of all Advantages do not rarely bring greater Strength, Wisdom, and Innocency, than their own to Destruction ; so as the World hath been abused through an often-repeated Tradition, if a Fool of State did not help to anticipate the Death of a hopeful Prince. And if the Endeavours of Malice and Revenge be thus prevalent in a Court, where Civility and Law pretend at least to command ; how prejudicial must the Neglect of this Caution appear in the Field where nothing but Passion is obeyed, and all Advantages concurring to Safety, allowed in Prudence, if not Honour ? And where Fortune, to exercise the Dominion she usurps over Strength, and Probability, suffered a Dwarf not long since to kill a Man. This makes me admire the Valour more than Discretion of an Acquaintance of mine, that met an armed Enemy in a formal and premeditated Duel with a wooden Dagger and a rebated Rapier. I confess this Gallant Soul did worst him ; which appeared less because no more than his Contempt engaged him to. But if chance (the Lady of such Events) had turned her Face the other way, his Honour and Prudence, if not Life (seldom ransomed, if at the Mercy of a Coward.) had been lost in the Indiscretion of the Action : The Generality taking
no

no other Prospect of things than through the Event: and under this Topick may be included such, as return a disarmed Enemy his Sword, with a Number of Follies more incident to a Romantick Valour.

4. Have Peace with all Men, is as wholsome an Aphorism in Policy as Divinity. But being uncapable of so strict an Observation as in Religion and Prudence it deserves, let me advise you to shun, or break off all Contests with much inferiour Persons to your self. And because Example receives a more lively Tincture from Memory, than Precept, I shall instance it as a Blot in the greatest Rocher that did in my time appear in the Court of England; for indeed any I ever heard of since the Reformation: Who managed a Quarrel with *Archie* the King's Fool, and by endeavouring to explode him the Court, rendered him at last so considerable, by calling the Prelate's Enemies (which were not a few) to his rescue, as the Fellow was not only able to continue the Dispute for divers Years, but received such Encouragements from Standers by, as he hath oft, in my hearing, belched in his Face such Miscarriages as he was really guilty of, and might, but for this foul-mouth'd Scot, have been forgotten: Adding such other Reproaches of his own, as the Dignity of his Calling and Greatness of his Parts could not in Reason or Manners admit; though so far hoodwink'd with Passion, as not to discern that all the Fool did was but a Symptom of the strong and inveterate Distemper raised long before in the Hearts of his Countrey-men against the calling of Bishops: Out of whose former Ruins the Major Part of the *Scottish* Nobility had feathered, if not built their Nests. Nor did this too low-placed Anger lead him into a less Absurdity, than an Endeavour to bring him into
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the Star Chamber, till the Lord *Coventry* had, by acquainting him with the Privilege of a Fool, shewn the Ridiculousness of the Attempt: yet not satisfied, he, through the Mediation of the Queen, got him at last discharged the Court; whither, he brought after, the same Mind under a Cloak, as he had before born in his Fool's Coat. Nor is it more Wisdom for any, especially Kings, to drive base People into the dark Corners of Despair, where they do not only lose the Sense of their own Felicity, in becoming instrumental to the Malice and Ambition of others, but all Duty and natural Respect to Friends, Religion, and Governours.

5. A true Friend becomes the Fortune of every Profession, but is the most necessary Utensil I did ever observe belonging to a Person at Court: Where Eyes are so sealed up and covered with Prejudice, Envy, &c. as little Notice is taken of the highest Desert, till through the Approbation of a Stander-by they are pointed to it. The Mode of Princes being, as I have often found, to rest better satisfied with others Attestations, than their own. The cause that in Palaces, Merit is less vendible at the first than second hand; proceeding commonly from the Modesty of the Party, which Defect none but a faithful Friend is able to supply. I could name a couple of *Jesuits* (no ways miraculous for Parts, considering the foreign Advantages received from their Relations and Breeding) who did by making it their business to cry up one the other in all Companies and upon every Occasion, swell themselves to such a Repute, as they became in a short time, able to benight the Apprehension of a Prince, in his own Opinion, no mean Politician.

6. Though

6. Though it is your Duty no less than Honour to have deserved well of Church or State; yet it may be no unseasonable Advice (considering how soon the best of Subjects have their Desert expunged by Envy or Forgetfulness, after their Use is over) to extend Expectation beyond the present Occasion: By which you may have the Hope to continue your *Prince's Favour*, commonly conclusive where Expectation ceaseth. Wherefore the well managing of Merit is none of the weakest Effects of Prudence, because incapable to be restrained within the Compass of any general Rules.

Signal Actions being not seldom so huddled up by Fortune, as they are in a short Time forgotten or much lessened by Sharers and Envy, before the principal Operator is able to make his best Market of them: To whom a brave Atchievement hath sometimes proved fatal; nothing being more terrible in the Eyes of Majesty, than the Apparition of an unrewarded Desert; whose chiefest Mediators are Shame, Hope or Fear: Wherefore he that keeps not all, or one of those, for his Friend may expect a Reward from Heaven sooner than Earth. The old Earl of *Bristol* was none of the most imperfect Scholars in this Lesson; who, through a prodigious Dexterity, became the Confident of Two Princes, that drove on, if not contrary, divers Designs. And was at his Return able to appear before the *English* Parliament, where he worsted the greatest Minion † the Folly, Love, or Wisdom of any King since the *Conquest* ever bred in this Nation.

† The Duke of Buckingham.

7. I note it as a great Blemish, and so much the more deplorable, because not seldom mingled with the best Parts, for a Man to cry up his own Excellencies. Through which, though the simple may be led into Admiration, it produceth, from the more Judicious, Contempt and Envy: Conjuring up a severer Scrutiny into the Party's personal Lapses and natural Imperfections, than Prudence ought to alarm. A modest Rate put by the Owner upon his peculiar Desert, being the most artificial Medium to multiply Fame. Though the same Aphorisms in Morality, no more than those of Physick, are not always found to work the same Effects upon all Complexions and Constitutions: The contrary being ordinary through Ignorance, or a Prejudice arising from a different Opinion. For let the Speaker utter never so rational and exact a Truth, nothing but what quadrates with the Company's respective Understandings and Experience, can settle upon him the Hearers Belief: Not seldom better gratified with a probable Lye, than in the serious Relation of a more prodigious Truth. The Predication of which is not only an Incroachment upon the sole Immunity of Thrones and Pulpits, but a dangerous Intrusion upon the Elements of Civility; so far as sometimes to produce Quarrels, ever Disputes: Not in Reason to be looked upon, by the Reporters, under a modefter Notion than a Return of the Lye. Nor can such Improbabilities at best, pass their Hearers without the Thoughts of being slighted by the Relator; as Owners (in his Opinion) of a Credulity capable to be deluded. And this, maturely considered, might hang the Lock of a greater Restraint upon the Mouths of Travellers, Huntsmen, Mountebanks, &c. who, to render their Professions of more Value, than if brought to the Candle they might possibly appear to be, do torture their

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Company with no less impertinent, than improbable Relations. And if it were as far warranted by Discretion, to name the Persons that have smutted their Fame through a Breach of this Topick, as it is fit to avoid the like Excess, you would bless your self to hear the Recital of so many brave Spirits, and such whose Desert is impregnable against the Storms of Time, which this Quality hath, to my Knowledge, worsted in their Repute, so far as to render them ridiculous in Company: Of which I shall leave you this one nameless Example of a Knight *, who using to make multiplying Glasses of what he in his long and great Travels had observed, professed he once conversed with a Hermit, that was, in the Opinion of all Men, able to commute any Metal into Gold, with a Stone he kept still hanging at his Girdle: And being asked of what kind it was, and not readily answering the witty Lord of St. Albans † standing by, said he did verily believe it was a Whetstone, &c.

Neither may it be happily amiss here, to dissuade you from all immoderate Praise or Dispraise of any Person or Thing your Experience or Acquaintance hath had the Fortune to cope withal; lest some in Company, out of an Humour of Contradiction, (no less frequent than odious to Society,) or a Disaffection, should assume the contrary Cudgel, and by that engage you in an ungrateful Dispute, or a more destructive and ridiculous Quarrel: As befel an Earl at Greenwich that received some Prejudice in his Honour from the Marquess of Hamilton, for crying up the Civility of Spain higher than that of England; which grew at last to such Terms, as might have produced worse Effects, had not the Earl's Wisdom directed him to the Throne, &c.

Montrebank &c. who to render it more agreeable to the Reader, has added the following Note.

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8. Though

8. Though Kings, and Persons in Superlative Power, when loose from serious Employments, assume so far the sociable Humours of Humanity, as to break out into spightful and facetious Extravagancies with other Courtiers; yet ought not this Freedom to allure them into so high and familiar a Presumption, as to retaliate the like again; since Scorn or Smart proportionates not its Acceptance to the Extent of this Innocency and good Meaning of the Subject that first gave the Occasion, but the Prince that received it. Such Accidents, though they may pass current during the short Time of a present Commerce, yet do not fail upon Rumination, and the Tincture, Enemies are found to give all that may advance their Profit or Malice, to change the former Supercription of Mirth and Impress of Loye, into an inveterate Harred and Thirst for Revenge. An Instance hereof appears in *William Earl of Pembroke*, none of the least obsequious Observers of the Times; who naturally, or rather customarily, (since the former may be liable to Question) abominating a Frog, had one thrown into his Neck by King *James*: And did in Requital cause a Pig (of an equal Disgust with the same Prince) to be put under his Close-stool: Where though it produced no extraordinary ill Effect for the present, it being as usual a thing with his Majesty to be frightened, (as well as befoul himself;) yet after the Prank (innocent enough of it self) had been descanted upon, and the worst of Interpretations made by some, (the Title of *Jews* being at that Time usually given to the *Scots*) the King was much affected with it; and the more, because done at *Wilton*, under the Earl's own Roof: It remaining always a Natural or Usurped Prerogative in Princes, if not of all in Power, to put their particular Sense on the Words and Actions of

inferiour Persons. Wherefore he that relies wholly on the Honour or Friendship of his *Prince*, had need of more *Patience* and *Circumspection* than doth ordinarily attend a free Birth, or such as remain galled through any foreign Discontent or Anxiety, which renders the Patient tutchy and unadvised.

9. It is not Prudence, through contrary Counsel, to tamper over-much in the Miscarriages of others not relating to your own Interest, especially if absolutely flown beyond all Recovery of *Prevention*: For, though, like *Physick*, it may appear of wholesome Consequence for the future, it remains at the present of no good *Savour* to the *Party*: And renders the Sight of him it is received from, ungrateful. Wherefore with much Caution, if at all to be administred to *People of Quality*: who do not seldom, instead of doubling their own Circumspection, only place a stricter Watch upon the Informer, in hope to pay him in the same Coin, never current but amongst those of choice and candid Natures: Counsel implying, in most Peoples Opinion, an overprizing your own Judgment, and debasing of others.

10. It is no less Violation of Friendship, than Charity to laugh when another by accident falls into a Mischance; and hath proved, in my Experience, the Original of many Quarrels, and bred a Strangeness between Persons, before very intimate in Affection. Wherefore it ought to be refrained towards People of mean Quality, lest Custom should render it more difficult to abstain from it, if the same Fortune becomes the Lot of a greater Man or dearer Acquaintance. As it fell out at the New-Lodge by *Barnet*; where after a great Dinner, King *James* walking out, and something neglected by such as led him, stumbling at a Mole-hill,

hill, fell down, and managed his Legs after so ridiculous a Posture, as many of the Company could not hold from Laughter: which his Majesty took so ill, as he called them Traytors, and protested Revenge; nor would he suffer any of them to take him up, till Mr. *John West* the Keeper, at whose House and Charge the Entertainment was, came, and by a witty Conceit (of which he was full) fetched them off. Swearing no good Subject could refrain to rejoice at his Majesty's Activity, to see him so nimble, as to come over and over: Now though this Buffoonery did for the present seem to compound for the real Folly of the rest, that had seen and forgot many things the Court might have learned them; yet the King did remember some of them, as no well Wishers to his Continuance in Being, but rather inclining to his Successor. To conclude, if it was thought Manners by our Ancestors, not to be covered whilst another sneezed, it can be no Charity or Discretion to laugh when he is likely to break his Neck.

11. It becomes not *Charity* no more than *Discretion*, to upbraid others with such Imperfections, as may by accident fall to, or accompany People from their Birth: No more in the Owner's Power to help, than it lies in the Scorners Ability to shield his own Person or Issue from falling into a like Disaster: None being so precisely happy, as not sooner or later, in their Bodies, Minds, Families, or Estates, to receive some Blemish, if not an ugly Mole from the Hand of Fortune; to whose Injuries the best Men are subject during this Life.

But that which appears the highest Injustice is the Imputation of Bastardy, in no Nation looked upon under so great a Notion of Reproach, as

amongst the *English*; though for the most part recompensed with the richest Indowments. For if a Fault it belongs solely to the *Parents*; wherefore the less discernable through what Organ of Equity, any more than an ordinary human Contamination should attach the Child. Since the single Security of a Wife (of no great Validity in other things) is the chief Authentick Proof we can produce for the Integrity of these we esteem most Legitimate. From whence we may learn, how to rate their Malice, that missing of Matter considerable to traduce the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, rake in her Birth for the Faults (if capable to be called so) of her Father. Forgetting, no such thing as Bastardy, in relation to Plurality of Wives and Concubines, can be allowed in Nature, without aspersing the *Patriarchs* and *People of God*. Wherefore the contrary *Custom* cannot be of Validity enough to question the Descent of a *Prince*, whose possession of the *Crown* is not only sufficient to create a Title. but what *Ceremony* (in all things not diametrically opposite to the apparent Dictates of God) shall be imposed upon the Subject. Monarchs themselves remaining discharged and incapable of Limitation by *Custom* or any *Law* that is but merely respective to Decency and Order: so as King *James* and his Son though the highest Indulgers of the *Eccllesiastical-Cannons* and *Institutions*, have often to my Knowledge so far dispensed with the legal Hours appointed for Matrimony, as to exchange them from Morning to Night: Things merely complemental vanishing in the Presence of the supream Magistrate. Nor was any thing in the most rigid Opinion wanting to her Legitimation. but a Dispensation professed by all Historians signed sealed and sent into *England*. Now though the *Pope* did retract it, out of reason of State and dread of *Charles* the Fifth, whose Aunt Queen *Catherine*

was, I presume the Holy Ghost, under the Protection of whom, his Holiness assumes the Power of not erring, can in no Man's Opinion be thought to repent the approving what none but an impudent Malice is able to question, the Lawfulness of Kings being in all Places left to a greater Liberty, than Subjects may in a stricter Sense be liable to. It remaining improbable to conjecture, that Henry the Eighth should repudiate so virtuous a Lady out of a less trivial Desire than the obtaining the Nation's quier, and prevent a Civil War; by leaving behind him an Heir of his Body. But to lay aside such Baubles; only considerable with Children and Fools, he had the Consent of all uninterested Divines, beyond Seas, together with a considerable Number of the most Learned in his own Church; from whom there is no natural, if just Appeal to any but God, or an impartial Council, a Phoenix not likely to be found, till the old Man of Sin be consumed, and our Saviour in his own Person become Monarch of the whole Earth. Thus when the Gall of Interest and Malice becomes mingled with Ink, it doth not only blot and disfigure the Beauty of Truth, but the Honour of all Authors that endeavour to maintain it.

12. Some Families are noted of a Propensity more to Folly, Lust, Infelicity, Stammering, &c. others to Beauty, Temperance, Modesty, Probity, Hospitality, with many respective Merits and Benevolences in Nature. The Causes of which may be easier sought for, than found amongst the Perfections and Blemishes of Ancestors. Since the Belly being changed upon every Descent, it remains little probable the Burden should retain the same Marks from any more occult Quality than Imitation. As may be guessed from an honourable Family, noted for many Generations to sturter,

and another that retained a Cast with their Eyes: Both which may in my Opinion be attributed in more Probability to the Effects of an ordinary Commerce than any Quality inherent in their Nature.

The (longer than ordinary) Succession of great Lips observed in the House of *Austria*, cannot appear a Miracle to any that considers they have not, for many Ages married out of their nearest Kindred. I note this, not only to guard you from Jealousy, the most impertinent Devil, Fancy can be at any time haunted with: But to prevent falling into the common Error both of the Ancient and Modern *Philosophers*, that ground Conclusions upon bare Report or at best single Experiments, which exposeth them to easy Confutations: Manifest in *Pliny's* Natural History.

13. If it be the highest Advantage deducible from the Study of *Philosophy*, calmly to bear the Affronts of Fortune, how can the Depth of their Indiscretion be fathomed, that, absolved from personal Causes of Discontent, extract the Spirit of Anxiety out of such remote Accidents, as Custom, not Nature hath laid in the way of human Felicity, through which we become far more unadvised than Beasts. And amongst these may be numbred, the immoderate Desire of, and Care for Children; in some so ridiculous and intemperate, as to let themselves and their Families (of which they are part) to want all things for the present (the only time we can call ours) out of hope to leave them something after their Death: Which doth prove as often too much as too little. Since through this Excess (like an over-proportion of Byass in a Bowl) they are led out of all Care for greater Preferment, or becoming better than at first they were left: who quite unacquainted with the Use of Money,

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are as far to seek how to improve, as decently to spend it. Yet in my Apprehension, no *Perturbation* bears the Marks of a more ridiculous Folly than lies latent in an impertinent Jealousy, in relation to Women; no more able to ransom their Repute out of the Hands of Detraction, than the *Patient* is to gratify his Curiosity with a pleasanter Recipe than an apparent Detection. Thus, by snatching up Negative-Evil we render our selves insensible of any positive Good: Like Children, who if dispossessed or denied the Gauds of others, will in a peevish Humour throw away their own. Nor are we seldom cast into a present Trouble, out of the Contemplation of Mischiefs not yet arrived: The things we fear, resembling so far those we desire, that for the most part they seem greater at a Distance, than nearer hand: From whence the Mind may be judged as crazed and infirm as the Body, and no less affected with Vapours. Nor are these Distempers so frequent in vulgar and empty Heads, as those stuffed with Learning; a meer Drug, and in this, like Rhubarb, whose Operations are far more effectual upon a slight Infusion than taken in the Mass; not seldom observed rather to obstruct than open the Organs of Understanding, which ought not to be crammed faster than she is able to concoct, nor kept in a Coop without taking a Prospect of all worldly Experience; a rude Quantity of intricate Notions being apter to augment Sail, than Ballast: The major Part of Learning appearing, like Diamonds, richer in Splendor, than Use: And cannot, alone and unassisted by the Conversation of all sorts of Professions measure out the true and mathematical Latitude of earthly Felicity, not prohibited by, though bounded within the Compass of Reason; in whose Absence it is either lost in Excess, or smothered in Restraint; flattered into the first through Voluptuousness,

ousness, and confined to the other by Law and Education: which makes them to suspect all things pleasant, of Sin, whereas the contrary is more likely to be natural. Since at long running others more indulged by *Policy*, are found to meet at the same Market, or a worse. And to draw us with more Ease into the Iron-Traps of Infelicity and Restraint, they bait them with the Scraps of a broken Hope and childish Allurement, that our Fathers were caught before us. Yet the wily *Priests*, quite discharged of the Lumber of a Family, and all Oppression incident to a secular Life, cannot but enjoy the most Felicity, vainly sought under any but a free Condition, which all enjoy so far as they are willing, or left able by others to unconcern themselves of the World: which no Protection can so totally perform as that of the *Roman Church*, in which-like a *Cave* or *Grotto*. such of the Ecclesiasticks as are any way superintendant over others, are situated under as moderate an Aspect during the *Sun-shine* of *Prosperity*, as the Storms of an adverse Fortune; the Thunders of War (I mean till this sulphureous Age) seldom breaking out over their Cells. But now since the Blood of the Saints together with their Names are expunged the Gates and Doors of the Sanctuary good Works have lost their Value, and nothing more in esteem than new Opinions. Wherefore since in the Absence of a Protection from the Altar, nothing remains without, able to secure us quite from the Sense of Oppression, let us turn our Endeavours towards such Remedies as *Prudence* and *Philosophy* are found to prescribe us. And according to their Advice, pack up your Hopes and Fears into as narrow a Room as we can possibly, by which we shall render the last more portable, and the first less tedious. And in reference to this, all Affections beyond the Degrees of a natural and compelled Necessity,

cessity, or any thing likely to dilate them; are warily to be avoided, during the best times, as contrary to Felicity; and in the worst, as Obstructors of the Ways to Evasion, the most useful Knack belonging to the Engine of Life.

14. No Vertues deserve to be more indulged, both in our selves and others, than *Fatience* and *Moderation*: The first being no less requisite to arm us against the open Hostility of Fortune, than the other to guard us from the Excesses that do usually accrue to such as are placed in the gaudy Pageant of her Favour: And therefore kept in compass with the greater Difficulty, because bounded by no more foreign or external a Check than the Party is able to give out of the Strength of his own Judgment, prompted by an Experience had of her uncertain Carriage, whereas ill Luck (or to speak more Christian) a seeming Desertion of the Benignity of Providence, is rendred much the more supportable through an absolute Necessity, and so under an unavoidable Restraint, rather imposed than voluntarily submitted to. The rarest Precedent for Moderation I ever met with, was the last Bishop of London, who extracted by the Chymistry of this Mountebank-Deity, and alembecked through a Number of great Mutations, from one of the meanest of Vicars, to the highest of Treasurers, * was in none of them elated above the Meridian of the Ground he first stood on, or did debauch through his Miscarriage the Dignity of any place he passed through: Nor did he suffer with a more sullen Brow, the breaking of all the Glasses this pious Goddess had blown in his Favour; but did, after the Curtains were drawn, and the Tragedy acted, †

* William Juxon, D. D. enjoyed that honourable Post, Ann. 1635. † The Murder of King Charles I.

without any visible Reluctancy turn his Eyes towards the same Landskip of Country pleasures, be had, as it were against his will, been taken from. I have (dear Son) but named him, who I esteem fit to be placed in your Heart for the best pattern of Moderation I ever met with; as he might have remained for patience, had he not been eclipsed through the far greater Sufferings of a Person more splendid, and no less miraculous in this Vertue, as none can attest better than this Prelate, whose Patron he was.

15. I find the Oeconomicks, though most useful to Being, the least esteemed with our Gallants: Looked upon by some as trivial, by others as dishonourable and unbecoming a Masculine Employment; yet a total Neglect of them may be found in Experience the Ruin of the greatest Families in England, as their more exact Prosecution keeps up Men's Estates in Italy; where the Inhabitants are celebrated as most generally wise, and therefore not unfitly proposed in this for an universal pattern, but where they border too near the Confines of penury and baseness, most unbecoming the Custom and Plenty of England; and where, in this particular (till the Sword received a Commission from God to devour all things good and honourable in the Land) our Noblemen equalled the Princes, and our King exceeded in Hospitality all the Monarchs in the known World: And might yet have done more, had the true Elements of Thrift been maintained in an equal Proportion, by providing all things at the best Hand, and making use of Times and Seasons; in which I confess so much as purely belongs to Housewifery, ought, if not in Discretion, yet in reverence to Custom, to be left to Women, provided they own Abilities competent for the Employment: which is yet sometimes so far contradicted by Experience, as the first

first leak of a Husband's Fortune is found to rise in the *Kitchen*, and such Rooms as a Man of quality cannot decently visit. Nor is there a better way patent to obviate this falling into a Hectick, through such a *Dysentery*, than by an equal balancing all weekly Accounts; never noted by Wisdom any more blemish to Honour than to know how many Horses he keeps in the Stable, a place that cannot be denied to be made, by Use, rather than Reason, more becoming his Presence than the *Pastry* or *Larder*; nor is the Keeping of a regulated Expence (magnified rather than decried in the highest Courts of Wisdom) Neglected so much out of Scorn as Defect. Fathers, especially rich ones, being so far to learn themselves what is most fit their Children should be taught, as they keep them so long in the Latin School, till the time is lapsed most proper for Reading, and to make a perfect Accomptant; the most necessary part of the *Mathematicks* and so much as cannot be in any Commerce spared. It remaining indubitable, that none so industrious as to call himself to a weekly, or at least an annual Reckoning, did ever through his own Default spend an Estate. Whereas the want of this first Rudiment of Thrift, hath, within the compass of my Experience, brought divers to a Bit of Bread and demolished the Houses of the most ancient Gentry of *England*. Now, if any desire to understand how our more illiterate Fathers came to escape this Curse; an Answer lies ready; That the greatest part of their Revenues did consist in Provisions of all sorts, paid punctually at a Day, and so easily accounted for and remembered. And this abundance they enjoyed kept them pleased and in Friendship with their Estates, wanting neither *Company* nor *Respect*; through which they became less liquorish after the Glory and small Delights of *London*, and the Court: towards

which they did seldom look, but upon constraint; having never tasted them in Youth, as now they do, *the only time to contract an Affection to any Place or Thing*: So as that we call the Breeding of our Gentry, is the main Reason of their undoing: the glorious Aspects the City affords, rendering the more solid Pleasures of the *Counnry* contemptible and distastful. And thus insatuated, from the hope of a redemption by an Office or Wife, they drop into an Ocean of Debts, between the *Scylla* and *Carybdis* of a *London* and *Country House*; which* for want of moderating their Expence (a thing Arithmetick is the readiest, if not the only Means to reform) it becomes no less terrible to look upon, in relation to Solitude and Dilapidations, than unsafe to abide in, for fear of the Sheriff. But however this may prove good *Counsel* to others, it is of small Concernment to you; who, I thank God, are of another Temper, and a more Mathematical Education.

16. Great Wealth is not seldom the Birth-right of Fools, being for the most part a Result of the Father's Covetousness: And therefore found more easy for such Heirs to double, than to expend with Honour, Decency and Moderation so much of it as is fit to be allotted for Hospitality, out of vast Revenues. The most likely Reason why the Families of Citizens are consumed through Prodigality, or bear to Posterity the Marks of Baseness, because unacquainted with the true Elements of House-keeping; through an equal mixture and moderate temper of which, *Honour comes to be generated in the Opinion of the World*: There appearing as wide a Difference for the most part, betwixt a Gentleman of Blood, and one of Fortune, as lies between the Confines of Moderation and Excess. From whence it often chanceth that Mechanick Wealth doth become

come rather a Misfortune than a Blessing, by procuring not only Diseases, but bringing Braves and Trappers like Droans and Wasps, into the Houses of such ignorant Gallants, as by Reason of a low breeding are not able to apprehend what is convenient, or take the true height of their Acquaintance, and an exact survey of what Company may with Decency and Safety be kept. From whence we may conclude it easier to attain Wealth, than the Wisdom to spend it without transgressing the Rules of Moderation, or falling upon the extremes of baseness and excess.

17. Sad Experience hath, amongst others, left me this unquestioned Legacy, *That no Relation, below a Father, is to be confided in by Younger Children.* The fear of having their Jointure questioned, Obliging a partiality in Widows towards their First-born; a term more pernicious to the Major part of Mankind, than the destruction of it might possible prove to the Persecutors and Oppressors of the Children of God. These Gypsies (found commonly Slaves to their Wives or Vices) and performing their task in this World under a richer Canopy of Honour than some of their younger Brethren ever stood near, have, besides the Cruelties and unnatural Burdens they lay upon them, through their Power and a bare deception in Law, converted into Stubble the Straw their more charitable Fathers left their Brethren to cover them withal. And for Uncles, &c. their Eyes are so intent upon the Splendor of the House, as they oversee out of Fear or Ambition, all but the Top-branch commonly the weakest.

But lest Interest should transport me into a general Declamation against the most noble part of the Nation, out of a particular Experience of the ill Natures of some. I shall conclude with an advice to put all younger Children to such Courses as
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may protect them from undoing by the worst of Heirs. It being unlikely the Laws of *England* should stand unbent in their Favour, so long as they remain the major part in all Parliaments and have not thoroughly surveyed the Ways to infelicity and ruin. And for Daughters they do not seldom prove miserable through great Portions; which causes Snares to be laid for them in every Place; they becoming the lot of Serving-men, or *Boys*: or in case the old Churl attains a more honourable Design though perhaps less discreet (it not being a rarity in Custom to see such despised, and their Money and Estates spent to feed others more acceptable though less rich.) A Lady thus created out of a Daughter (of these ordinary Infest Generation) proving in the generality the most despicable Animal breathing.

18. Nothing is expunged with more difficulty than the Lines Custom and Education have formerly drawn, in the credulity of Youth: which through a no less Indiscreet than Imperceptible Insinuation, renders all other Usances and Opinions distastful, and not seldom Atheistical, belonging to any Climate or Inculcation but that, under which they had the Fortune to be born; like Parrots, that only applaud themselves, and in the mean time proclaim all others Fools or Knaves, upon no more authentick Warrant than that they have done it, and were taught so to do from their Infancy. A Habit resembling Beauty, which though but Skin-deep, doth for the most part prevail against Reason her self: Taught by the generality (as Children do the Bells) to comply with the Fancy, and not the Imagination to submit to the real Sense. Wherefore such variety of Judgments can be no Prodigy, where Truth and Falshood are weighed at so unsteady a Beam. And if any Thing could prove able to make good the Advantage asserted

ferred to be found in the Wisdom of preceding Ages above the present. I should rather seek it in the restraint and confinement the Tyranny of Custom keeps us under, than any defect in ability or poverty of Nature; not observed to be more prodigal in one Age than another. Though confessed sometimes to make Wisdom and Judgment so Itinerant, as to pass from place to place; and may not unpossibly quit our Horizon, when it shall be again Night with us, and the same dismal Cloud of Ignorance impend *England*, as is now known to hover over those former elegant People of *Greece*. But if the Profit of some, and fear of others be still able to manacle the Hands and shackle the Feet of such as are in pursuit after Reason, by confining them within that narrow Compass of our Ancestors Discoveries, how is it likely this Generation should equal the former, whose *Cogitations* were freely allowed to expiate in the wide Fields of Philosophy, and to implead all Things at the Bar of Reason, thought guilty of Falshood, without giving Scandal or receiving Blame? Whereas the Authors of these times want not only their Rewards and Impunity, but lie under a severer *Censure* for vindicating some probable Truths, than they were exposed to for all their Mistakes; witness *Galilei* *. To conclude, it is no more suitable to Prudence, for a Man to hazard his Credit for the advancement of others Knowledge, than 'tis likely to improve them, or satisfy himself by a bare Repetition of what hath been said many hundred Years since, though perhaps never believed till these latter and

* *Galileo Galilei*, the celebrated Mathematician of Florence, who made many excellent Discoveries in Astronomy, and was put into the *Inquisition* for holding the *Copernican System* of the Revolution of the Earth about the Sun; which Doctrine he was forced to retract before he could obtain his Liberty.

more credulous Ages had rendred it vendible under the Protection of Silence or Restraint.

19. Moon-Eyed Horses, whose Light is said to increase or wane, suitable to the flux or reflux of that mad Planet. Blanch and Start more by Day than Night; not out of any real Deformity residing in the Object, but their Sense; which renders them of a far more pernicious concernment, when they are able to lead, than kept under a Capacity fit only to follow and obey. And this is not merely verified by Experience, in reference to Schismatics, and the Owners of Fanatick Opinions concerning Religion, put all half-witted Persons else, from the Prince in the Throne, to the Doctor in the Chair. Luke-warmness being as nauseous to Policy as Religion, and as likely to vomit out and defile the old and decent Government of a Kingdom as a Church. In mistaking Enthusiasms for Prophecies, Memory for Conscience, and Anger for Zeal; by none better understood than the *Romans*, who to draw this popular Monster from approaching the ARCANUM of State, (not possibly to remain always in so serene a Temper, and under such an exact discipline as may admit a thorough Inspection of the Multitude without Danger.) They never ceased feasting their Fancies at home with Spectacles of Pleasure (in some of which they placed Religion, catching with one Bait, both the Profane and Superstitious) and maceerating abroad their Material Humours at the Conquest and Expence of the *Barbarians* (as they in a no less high than false Arrogancy stiled all but themselves) gaining through the Mediation of Stage-Plays and Gladiators the same, if not a greater Advantage than the Grand Seignior draws from a multitude of Wives, and the unanimous Inculcation of his *Priests*: whereas the *Romans* never owned any Profession of so insinuating a Temper as to cover Hypocrisy, nor any Enthusiasms (yet

(yet did all with an unanimous Consent acknowledge God) as were ever found to produce Rebellion, a Sin recorded by Truth it self to be worse than Witchcraft, and therefore not unpossibly the Cause why the Devil was so earnest of old with the *Jews*, and is now so busy with the *Christians* to make them commit it.

It is ordinary with Custom, Education, and Ignorance, the three grand Impositors of the World, to face the People's Consciences with some specious Pretence, to hoot and cast Stones at every Profession, but what Practice hath rendred familiar to themselves; whilst the most intrinsick Knack of the Work intends solely Honour, Profit, and Ease of the Magistracy; the Center, towards which all things approved of, do, by a natural or impulsive Force, tend. It being unpossibly the Pope, together with the Friars, &c. should keep up the Price of their sophisticated Wares, daily uttered, were not the Passage to Heaven streightned, and all other Ways obstructed, but through their Institutes: Of which the Credit would be much impaired, should the Protestant Tenets and Theirs be thought indifferent. Nor is it more possible for a Civil Magistrate to carry the Scepter steady, where the Winds of contrary Doctrines are observed to blow. From whence it is become not only the Endeavour of *Rome*, but Reason of State, to maintain those Customs that appear useful, as relating to Salvation, and under a no less imperious Injunction than the Command of God: Yet not able to extend a Punishment for a Breach of them, beyond Death, the only Prerogative of our Maker. Nor can Magistracy in Prudence be blamed for promoting all Means tending to Unity, or Subjects commended that seek to disturb them: Who ought rather to conceal all Opinions contrary to that generally confessed or remove their Persons to other Places where they find them with more Safety indulged, than by

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divulging them to kindle a contrary Zeal in the People, which in a small Time converts into Hypocrisy, the Demolisher of all Things Humane and Divine; being able to promote, under the specious Pretence of the Service of God, the foulest Ends Covetousness, Malice, or Ambition were ever found to point at. Wherefore all Distinctions are, or may be hereafter, thought dangerous in a State, to the several Orders of Friars, who, though observed to agree amongst themselves, are in sharp Contests with other Convents and Fraternities; So as *Christianity* may be wakened into an Admiration how his Holiness should pretend to an Infallibility, and not be able to decide, *Whether our Lady lay under the universal Pollution, or was conceived and born Immaculate.* The maintaining and controverting of which hath already wasted Candle and Paper, and may come one Day to Blood, as the Regulars and Jesuits have hardly refrained from. Nor need we go to *Rome* for Examples in this kind. since the Truth of this is confirmed in the Jars arising between Townsmen and Scholars, one College and another; though under the Institutes of one and the same *Aristotle* and Government: Which, maturely considered, may serve to put the best Construction on all we find of Use in Church or State.

21. There is an Extent in Wit, Learning, Civility, Honour, and all other Felicities, no less than in Conquest; which neither *Greece, Rome, Goth, Vandal,* nor any other Nation, Person, or Commonalty delighting in Virtue, or Rapine, were ever in any Age yet found able to exceed: The Reason that many did draw a Calculation for the late *Gustavus* King of *Sweden's* Fortune from the Lines of his Success, and the miraculous Dexterity he used before he met with any considerable Opposition; though not quite divested of second Causes. The least of which

which did not lie in the *Imperial* Imprudence, where a Demonstration of a Will to enslave *Germany* was discovered, before Provision was made of a Power likely to effect it. The Reason such as adhered to *Cæsar*, were no less remiss, than those that opposed him, vigorous in their Prosecutions. But in relation to that is at this Time more current in my Fancy, all Extreams, whether in Virtue or Vice, may be reckoned as a Portent of the Ruin of a People, and amongst these an Excess in Learning and Hypocrisy, the Results of a too high indulged Zeal are the most Vocal, and do not seldom, like *Castor* and *Pollux* †, appear mingled with the Sails upon the Change of Weather. Though the Flames of Superstition are in this more destructive than they meerly Natural and Independent, on any remoter Causes than those of Obedience or more sublime than human Vessels are able to contain without breaking into Enthusiasms, because found the most ordinary Persecutors of Shipwrack. Nor is any thing likelier to comply with the Causes of Ruin in this Nation, than the Vastness of *London*; which, like the Liver of an *Italian* Goose, or a rotten Sheep, weighs more than the whole Nation, and may not only come in probability to starve that, but suffocate it self.

22. A Vacuity may with Safety be concluded in that Head whose Body and Discourse is filled with too much Affectation. Such through an over-much Care of their Outside and Words, proclaim a Remissness in what relates to the Mind; it remaining equally rare, to find a starched and complementary Man wise, as a Woman valiant: The most serious Endeavours of them both, being to captivate the ignorant Beholders. And though this

† The *Twin Stars* in the Sign *Gemini*.

may pass but for a Blemish in Youth, it becomes an ugly Deformity in Age: Asserting their Opinion who have formerly thought Apes to be of the Extraction of *Cham*, or some other Bye-blow of human Generation, by their too near approaching towards the Nature of Women: Wherefore to be avoided as one of the highest Excesses in Folly. No Mode or Behaviour appearing suitable to all Companies, but what is Manly, Constant, and Resolute: Overmuch Cringing and Complement appearing in all Judgments, unforestalled by a like Custom, no less impertinent than tedious, as intruding too far on Time and better Employments. Nor are the *French*, with whom these Mimical Gestures are most in Fashion, the better esteemed amongst graver Nations; who are rather found, by reason of this Levity, to put a baser Alloy upon their greater Excellencies, which those conversant in their Books cannot but allow them: Amongst which you may find reckoned in the Number of Extravagancies, all Ceremonies not essentially depending on Civility.

23. It is a Saying, no less general than true, That a meer Scholar becomes, through a singular and pedantick Practice, not far removed from an absolute *Idiot*. None being better able to man out and array with a mottley and pie-bald Carriage (the Habit of a Fool) than he that hath crowd-ed together an unsorted Rabble of all Stuffs and Colours. A rude Mass of Reading, till it be thoroughly fixed and concocted in the Sun-shine of Employment, becoming like Atoms, so volatile and unsettled, as for Want of an equal Mixture of the more solid and necessary Elements of Prudence, they jumble and whirl up and down, without Incorporating any thing but Air: Occasioning,
through

through a too great Dose of Mercury, rather Palsies than any Steadiness in the Understanding, by rendring it more bold than rational: Like Children, who confident of their perfect Skill in the Game, before Experience hath taught them how to shuffle and deal the Cards, or lay them down in order, advance little but the Scorn of Standers-by. to see a Courtier kept out, and a mean Trump foisted in, where the best is required: Manifest through all they either speak or write, to their private Epistles, in which for want of an exact measuring Persons and Degrees, they Accost all to the Butler and Laundress in one and the same Stile; or if possibly changed, it is in more tedious and impertinent Expressions to their Betters; in relation to whom, Courtship requires the most reserved Brevity can be found on the Outside of ambiguous Obscurity. Nor can this be laid to the Charge of true Learning, the Nurse of Understanding, but the long Time spent before they be weaned from the Breasts of the Universities, and put into Commerce; the only Means of attaining Strength and Ability to judge what is fit to be retained and what to be neglected, suitable to the Course Fortune or Necessity hath allotted for a future Subsistence: Unpossibly to be gained under such a narrow Erudition as *Cambridge* or *Oxford* affords: Which like *Stone-Henge* the *Pyramids*, and other Rarities, may be well worth a Visit, but not to be made Habitations or Places of Abode. It not residing in the Power of any Tutorage to inculcate a Wisdom beyond the Extent of its own Knowledge, and the Ability it hath to back its Rudiments by visible Experience; one Example prevailing more upon the Memory, than ten Rules; and one that is for the present to be seen, than twenty found in Old Authors not possible to quadrate with all Times and Occasions. Nor is there
made

made general such choice of Tutors as are able to distinguish what is fit to be taught to every respective Pupil, in relation to his *Propensity*, and the future *Employment* he is likely to have in the *State*, but do infuse one and the same *Rudiments* into all in general; as if the World had use of no more Tools but one. Which minds me of a laudable and more improving way for Knowledge, practised in my Time by some of the *Peerage*, that obtained leave for their *Sons* to stand by the Chair of *State*, and hear all the Debates in the *House of Lords*. And if the same were continued and suffered amongst the *Commons*, it might be a greater Improvement than can be found in observing the unmannerly and insignificant Distempers in the *Schools*, &c. To which I shall only add that Mr. *Hampden*, Mr. *Pym*, &c. were resident in all *Parliaments*, their Age gave them Opportunity to assist in; whose highest Excellencies, so far as my poor Judgment can extend, lay rather in timing their Designs, and concealing their Passions, than in any more prodigious Advantage they had of other Men. Nor are there any Qualities more essential than these to a *Politician*, nor less indulged amongst *Scholars*; who, out of a strong Presumption of What, they have not, fall into a manifest Demonstration of What, they really want.

21. It is recorded of *Solomon*, that God had given him a large Heart, through which he became universally knowing from the most despicable Herb, to the highest Cedar, and deepest Secret in Nature (then) under Knowledge. Which might serve to answer their *Curiosity*, who think they have done something towards the Confutation of this assertion of his wisdom, when they find his sayings parallell'd in other Authors: Since it is a sufficient Manifestation of God's extraordinary Grace upon him,

him, that we, assured from his own Writings, no less than from the Testimony of the sacred Scriptures, that part of the whole Mass of human Learning lay included in his Person; and so, if equalled in one Endowment, he was not exceeded by any single Individual in the general Knowledge of all. And as this appears by the Donor, to be none of the smallest Gifts, no less than in the Estimation of *Solomon* that did ask it, so may we strongly presume that an universal Inspection is the most becoming Quality a Gentleman (unfixed in a settled Calling) can bestow his Endeavours upon. And my Memory neither doth (nor I believe possible ever can) direct me towards an Example more splendid in this kind, than the Lord *Facon* Earl of *St. Albans*, who in all Companies did appear a good *Proficient*, if not a *Master* in those Arts entertained for the Subject of every ones Discourse. So as I dare maintain, without the least Affectation of Flattery or Hyperboly, that his most casual Talk deserveth to be written, as I have been told his first or foulest Copys required no great Labour to render them competent for the nicest Judgments. A high *perfection*, attainable only by use, and treating with every Man in his respective *profession*, and what he was most vers'd in. So as I have heard him entertain a *Country Lord* in the proper Terms relating to Hawks and Dogs, and at another time out-cant a *London-Chirurgion*. Thus he did not only learn himself, but gratify such as taught him; who looked upon their *Callings* as honoured through *his Notice*. Nor did an easy falling into *Arguments* (not unjustly taken for a Blemish in the most) appear less than an Ornament in him: The Ears of the Hearers receiving more Gratification, than Trouble; and (so) no less sorry when he came to conclude, than displeased with any who did interrupt him. Now this general

neral Knowledge he had in all things, husbanded by his Wit, and dignify'd by so majestical a Carriage he was known to own, strook such an awful Reverence in those he question'd, that they durst not conceal the most intrinsick part of their Mysteries from him, for fear of appearing Ignorant, or Saucy. All which rendred him no less necessary than admirable at the *Council Table*, where in reference to Impositions, Monopolies, &c. the meanest Manufactures were an usual Argument: And, as I have heard, did in this baffle the Earl of *Middlesex*, that was born and bred a *Citizen*, &c. Yet without any great (if at all) interrupting his other Studies, as is not hard to be imagined of a quick Apprehension, in which he was admirable.

25. It is a Wonder to see the publick and private Libraries extant every where: yet upon an impartial Search into their Worth, most of the Books they contain will appear like Salt that hath lost its Savour, fitter for the Dunghil, than the Stalls they fill; where they abide an unnecessary Lumber in the Houses of Scholars. The Ore they afford not coming to any more profitable Accompt, after the time required to separate the Dross is reckoned for, besides a broken Stile, which they do insensibly obtrude upon the neatest Wits and acuteſt Judgments, through the Meanness of their Expressions and Invalidity of their *Proofs*, commonly no other than a vain Repetition of such Authors Sentences and Names as did own the Thing or Opinion they endeavour at that Instant to make good. As if it were Reason imperative enough to lead us on, because such as they can be found to have gone before: Though God hath made all Times alike, and more capable of Improvement than Decay, The contrary of which, would redound as little to his Honour, as ours. If the
Languages

Languages now in ordinary Use, which are but the Paint of Books, be not so elegant, as other Tongues more ancient (a Question, that in reference to some of our Neighbour Nations may admit of a Disputation) whose Fault is it, but theirs, that instead of imbellishing do corrupt and adulterate them quite, by a Dialect as unsuitable to the Understandings as the Mouths of the Inhabitants : contrary to the Use of the Wiser *Italian* and *French*, that explode all Words they find rough upon the Pallat : Abominating no less those that favour too much of the Schools, than such as retain the Barbarism of the Country : and are by this Means able to pick out the Kernel in all Learning, without the Assistance of any other Tongue but their Mother's. The canting Terms of Arts being natural to them, as they might be in *English*, but that the Academies dare not permit it, out of fear to become Beggars themselves. The Cure of Ignorance being far more ready and easy than our Empericks make it, and sooner obtained through the open Air and daily Exercise of Experience, than the Confinement to a Study under a set Form of Erudition, &c. For my own Particular, as History hath been the chiefest of my Employment, so I shall extend no Censure beyond what I have found, which is so little of Certainty, as I rest quite unsatisfied, especially where many do relate to one and the same time. A Cloud of Witnesses by reason of their manifest Clashings and Contradictions, rather darkening than clearing the Ways of Truth : so as we cannot credit Books in matter of Fact, farther than they relate to Names, which is an useless Sound to those that never did converse with the *Persons* : Yet are in this so far to seek, as to leave us divers Founders for one and the same City, and as many Cities for the Birth of one and the same Man. The original of People, if not of

all things else, being rendred as questionable as their Wars and Conquests, which like Stories in Hangings, shew fair and legible towards that Nation the Historian designs to adorn : but if examined on the other side, there's nothing appears but Ends, and contrary Figures or Expressions ; The Records of one Country receiving a strong Contradiction from those of the next, and if Authors be never so little numerous, from some of her own. Wherefore the bright Rays of Honour, that doth now adorn the Heads of *Greece* and *Rome*, have rather resulted from their Pens than their Swords, and a Felicity they had in being only able to Magnify themselves to Posterity : And that human Relations intend more the Satisfaction of particular Interests, than that of Truth ; may be guessed by any that have but marked the Occurrences of our Days, where the same Press. if not the same Pen, was often found to contradict it self. Nor have we Reason to imagine the Antients more candid in their Recitements of natural and contingent Events. since we find them so romantick and hyperbolical in those they took for miraculous, which might not unpossibly be no more than natural, though they were unable to assign them their true Cause ; all Nations being at their Beginning under as thick a Vail of Ignorance, as the innocent *Indians* are found to lie now. Who did register in their Belief the armed *Spaniards* for Angels and the Prognostication of an Eclipse for a high Prophecy : So as no rational Man will question but if these People had expell'd by Force their glorious Invaders before true Information had of their Condition. Tradition would have delivered them to Posterity in the same Characters and Shapes their first abused Imaginations had cast them in. Wherefore such miraculous Conclusions relating in History to respective Places, Persons and Times

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are subject to question, unless warranted by a more authentick Attestation than what is human: It being a certain Sign of a Jugler, not to be able or willing to do one and the same thing often, and in diverse Places, and before sundry Witnesses. Nor is the vast Difference almost every where observable in Chronology, a small Obstruction to an Historical Faith: it being much easier to know the certain time when a Battle was fought, than every Accident happenable in the Field, or Circumstance attending a Miracle; through which the first may appear the less honourable, and the latter the more natural. The Effects of a confederated Company and prepared to deceive, lying obnoxious to no other Discovery, than what the Whip or their own more ingenious Confession hath power to extort. Nor are Authors otherwise creditable, barren of unlikely Productions, which leave the Verity of the rest in Question; witness *Livy, Herodotus, Josephus, &c.* amongst the *Heathen*, without reckoning *Eusebius, Socrates*, and other Writers relating to the Church: The which whosoever reads, may find cause enough to think they took up most of the Wonders recorded by them upon the Credit of such Reporters, as might, not unpossibly, have abused them as much, as they are found the Misleaders of Posterity. Wherefore Historians ought not to be over luxurious in their Narrations of improbable Things, but rather to imitate the Candor of the Jew formerly mentioned, who leaves his Reader to a free Choice of that he thinks fit to reject or receive, in his *History of the People of God*.

For, though the Attestation of so many Pens may authorize a Belief, that there was once such a Man as *Alexander*: Yet double their Number would hardly persuade a prudent Reader, that he conquered the whole World, or that he perfumed all Places with his Sweat, together with the Old-

Wive's Tales written of (his Horse) *Bucephalus*, in which he appears little less rational, than themselves. And this we carefully hoard up, with a huge Mass of waste Paper, which contains no richer Legacy than that of our Forefather's Ignorance and Credulity. Yet a Generation is still in being, that do not only plead the Causes of such Improbabilities, but anathematize for *Infidels* all that cannot admit them a Room in Possibility: Nor considering, that as strong a Delusion might darken the Apprehensions of those that convey'd them to us, as doth yet appear in such, that (notwithstanding our clearer Light) keep them still in Credit with the World. Now, if it be not a Prodigy to find Belief abused in Gross, as it was when two Armys were routed, the one by an Host of Thistles, the other through the Dust of a Drove of Cattle come to Victual the Camp, why may we not imagine a far greater Paucity of Witnesses liable to a like Fascination? A few being more obnoxious to Deception than many; Fear having, in all Ages, retained a Power to stamp upon the Fantasy what Figures she pleases. This may advise you not to follow History beyond the Pillars of Possibility: No more than to count Controversy binding, but where she leaves no room for Reply.

26. Iron is of more use to Man, than Gold, though ordinary for Pride to rate it and Jewels at a higher Price; the greatest Riches of Princes consisting in that which (like Honour) is no other ways beneficial to Commerce, but as it is prized by Opinion: So Labour and Manufactures have been, in all happy Commonwealths, looked upon as far more necessary, than Learning. Under the Notion of which all things deserved no better Title, than those of splendid Impertinencies, that do

not

not bring a real Advantage to Commerce. Heretofore neglected in *England*, as it is yet in other Places; where through an Excess of Ecclesiasticks the Church becomes more populous than the Temporality: whose Wealth and Splendor cannot long be wanting to raise so great a Cloud of Jealousy, and Covetousness in the Lay Power, as they may not unpossibly be immersed in Envy and Confusion, the Cords or Ligaments of Religion having been, in these latter Ages, much flaked no less than enervated through Disputations, and the immense Charge the Laity are, through their Inroachments, daily exposed to. Suitable to a Story of wise *Gundamor*, who urged by King *James* to relate the intrinsic Cause of the Duke of *Lerma's* Declension, from the most potent Favourite his Catholick Majesty ever rais'd, to a Condition so deplorable, as little if any thing was left besides a Cardinal's Cap, able to throw'd his Head from the Insults of the Populace. Made him this metaphorical Parable, "That two Rats having tempted their Fortune in pursuit of Livelihood and Honour, fell upon a House of no less Receipt, than Plenty of all Provisions; where for many Years they lived in the greatest Sensuality their Wills or Wishes could prompt them to desire: Till overcome by an ambitious Thirst of advancing together with themselves, all could pretend to their Alliance or Friendship, so much Spoil was committed, as did alarm the whole Family, and they becoming thus numerous, had Traps and Poison laid for them in every place." The like Disaster may not impossibly impend such Academies as teach meer speculative and useless Conjectures, not capable of Fixation under any Theories, which with Hawking and Hunting, may better become the Gentry, than the *Sons of the Menu*; whose Heads, like Drink, it doth intoxicate with

flatulent and insignificant Vapours, for want of Money and Means to estate them in Experience: without which, Learning, is of no more Advantage to the Professor, than a Pearl to a Dunghill-Cock, or a Ring in a Swine's Snout: Wisdom being a Lady of too high a Strain for any base Converse, or idle Company; it being far more natural for good Parts to plot Mischief than stand still. From whence I conclude, that all receiving Benefit from any Foundation, should be tied to follow some Calling or other, and not to live upon a bare Hope an University may in time advance them to.

27. Such a poetical Persecution as *Ovid* raised against *Cadmus*, the Founder of Letters (feigned by him to have put the Gods and Men into a Disarray) may admit of a Moral equal with an historical no less than experimented Truth: Since a too universally dilated Learning hath been found upon trial, in all Ages, no fast Friend either to *Poetry* or *Religion*; being no less ready to discover Blemishes in the one, than Incongruities in the other. Sophisters like the Cantons of the *Swiss*, becoming willing upon the least Apprehension of Advantage, to plant the same Engines and Weapons against the wrong side as the right, and not seldom with as good Success. Most of the *Heretics*, anathematized of old, having been observed to lay the Foundation of their *Schisms* in Discontent for the Loss of some Church Preferment denied them from their own, or to gain a greater offered by some other. Thus we see that Riches and Honour have ever been and will still continue, the corner-stones of the Devil's Chappel: Wherefore most Men, no less than Places render themselves obnoxious to the Brand of *Hypocrisy*, where these are found too earnestly prosecuted: not possible to be avoided,

ded, but by affording the *Clergy* so much *Honour* and *Riches*, as may guard them from *Contempt* and the *Opinion of Covetousness*, (which are meer Results of *Necessity*) and too mean a *Rate* so high a *Calling*, and useful both to *this Life* and a *better* no less than all sorts of *Governours*, is set at ; though not able to subsist without them, or be victorious. The *Trumpets* not proving so prevalent before *Aye* in the *Hands of the Souldiers*. as the poor despicable *Rams-horns* blown by the *Priests*.

28. Do not through a too rigid and obstinate Observation, convert *Vertue* into *Vice*, or render it more unsociable, than in *Reason*, *Nature* and *Civility* it ought to be : As such blunt and ill tutor'd People often are found to do, who, to wave *Flattery*. fall into *Incivility*, and to avoid *Pride*, into *Baseness*. *Religion* no less than *Honour* admitting a general and politicall *Compliance* with all *Humours* so far as *Manners* extend. It having been the *Guise* both of *Prophets* and *Patriarchs*, rather to sweeten with a complacential *Carriage* than exasperate through a *Reproof* such as they knew out of the *Pale of the Church* : Truth not being at all times in case to be shown without the *Ornaments of Courtship*, nor People in a *Condition* to entertain it. Tough and downright *Humours* gaining more *Favour* from *Plebeans*, than *Persons of Quality* ; the *Market-place*, than the *Court*, toward which it is no less lawful than expedient to turn your *Eyes* in all things meerly indifferent, as the highest *Promoter of Honour*.

29. When you find your self strike upon the *Rock of Danger*, or moored in an *Inconvenience*, cast *Obstinacy* over Board, and call *Wisdom* to the *Helm* ; which, with the help of *Moderation* and *Compliance*, do always keep an *Error* from grow-

ing worse, if not expunge it quite. Nor doth the Want of these Applications seldom cause Fools to make Shipwrack of all; whilst Prudence by tackling about and recovering Wind and Tide, doth at worst but lessen their Freight. To conclude, Wilfulness, like *Jonas*, raiseth storms and contrary billows, against all *Persons* and *Fortunes* where ever it commands.

30. Though taken in the World for an Honour to be constant to your first Post: Yet in case of Weakness, Conviction, or Defect, it may be no Imprudence, any more than a Mark of Levity to desert it. All Assurances, to that of a voluntary, and so the most sacred Oath, being bounded within the Compass of things possible: of which Wisdom doth ordinarily make Probability the Judge; yet in my Opinion not infallible but in the Company of Conscience: who should be an imperfect Witness, could she not as justly acquit as condemn: And with whose Consent it is no more Crime to change, than to follow your Guide, or become less foolish and intemperate upon the Sight of a Mischief, than before Experience had marked it for such. Self preservation being the first and strongest Principle in Nature; and so not to be neglected but upon the Score of God's Honour or Vindication of an unquestionable Truth.

31. It is not always safe, to be found a Step, by which an other hath mounted himself into the unsteady Chariot of Honour: lest his Foot slipping your Fall should become a necessary Consequence of his, or prove so foul in the Opinion of such Enemies as new Beginners do ordinarily contract, as will render you irreconcilable to the other side, which may not improbably prove no less auspicious to you and your Fortunes. Ingratitude remaining

not

not only useful, but necessary to those in Power: Upon the Contemplation of Policy no less than Thrift: untried Gamesters being ever in most Credit with such as have a new Game to play. Nor is it usual with Men after their Assumption into Dignity to hate those did place them there.

32. More Prudence is required in the Administration of a temporary or annual Power, than one of longer Continuance: because an over-remissness is as likely to question his Repute amongst Strangers as too rigid a Prosecution to abate his Estimation in relation to his Friends. For though such a time may be long enough to produce Errors, it is far too short to perfect a Reformation. Wherefore no bad Advice, to follow all Patterns, that appear indifferent, though none of the best, and such Paths as are beaten by Experience, rather than seek new: as I have known many to the Loss of themselves and their fame, when they came to mingle again amongst the Society, and were reduced to an equal parity with the rest. For he that is really able to mend a Government, will undoubtedly, be more advised than to perplex so short a Magistracy with what there can be no room found to bring about, but by exposing the Jurisdiction, no less than your own Credit: to a dearer Experiment and greater Hazard than a Reformation (never quadrating with all Interests) is at the best able to give caution for. From whence it may be concluded greater Prudence to follow than lead: Yet under such a Management as no Hand may appear to act above Board but your own. Not to wade farther in this shallow Honour, which who-soever carries under an elated Neck, cannot but appear to own a narrow Heart, no less than a mean Birth and sordid Education: And so a Year may be too long (for such a Beast to abide in Honour) whereas a Man of desert cannot but think the time too short.

to produce any considerable Change either in Matter or Form: Though I could instance many that have lost more Reputation and Friends during an annual Preferment, than they were ever after able to regain.

33. All Complexions and Natures are not competent for to be imploy'd as Embassadors: some lying at too open a Guard in their Discourse; a Fault incident to free People and Persons not bred under Restraint. Others, of a Faculty retentive enough in relation to Taciturnity, are not able to keep the Intentions of their Hearts from flying into their Looks (which by the way a publick Minister is to regard more than Words) Masters of their Tongues being not seldom betray'd to a full Discovery by their Blood; which the Shame of Lying or some one Passion or other pumps up, for want it may be of an Impudence, none, but those wickedly bred from their Cradle, are capable of. The Reason swarthy Persons and People bordering upon the Sun are more apt for Negotiation, than the *Ruddy-English*; famed for fine Force, rather than Circumvention, the Business of an Embassador. Nor shall Posterity befriend Truth, if they think it any great Hyperbole in those that maintain what *Gundamor* the *Spanish Agent* writ unto his Prince, which was, That King James his most intricate Desires were legible in his Countenance. Wherefore his Manner was, first to disturb his Passions, and after to appease them by some facetious Drollery, before he embarked himself in what he intended to make the Employment of the present Audience: Being, in my Opinion, a more perfect pattern for all Ministers of State (which in little ought to practise what *Machiavel* adviseth in gross) than *Cesar Borgia* prescribed for the *Mirror of Princes*: who out of Design, or not provided of better, did usually

in his priuate Visits, and Audiencies with King James speak false Latin; for which he had such dexterous Evasions, as his Majesty could by no Means make so good use of what was more congruous. It remaining always in his Power to alter the Times and Cases of his Words, an Advantage no Interpreter could possibly afford. Nor can endeavour be mispent in making a farther Inspection into the Life of this incomparable Agent, which I confess my self unable to do: Though, in my own Vindication, I can say he was Tall, as I have observed a Number to be in these Days very wise, and on the contrary, not many Fools of an extraordinary Stature: By which is given a real Confutation to that common Error, no ways authorized from any Reason or Experience, that the Faculties of the Mind cannot be so active in vast Bodies, as little; provided they be not suffocated by Fat, but, like his, strait and meager. Though I have found Subtilty, which is a more base and sly kind of Wisdom, very frequent in small and crooked Bodies, which the proper People do, in a greater gallantry of Nature, scorn. Gundamor did, in all Companies as well as the King's, incline more to Mirth, than Melancholy; chusing rather to conceal, than demonstrate the Wisdom and Arts by which he brought about his Master's Designs; no less to the Shame of the English Court, than Honour of his own Dexterity: Who was much wronged at his Return into Spain, if he made use of all the Advantages his Nation's Prudence and our Remissness afforded him. But to what my Knowledge was more perfect in, he had so quick a Wit as he was able to vindicate himself in his greatest Imperfections; not wanting Spirit to tell King James, when he upbraided him with his Latin, That he himself spake like a Prince, free and unconfin'd; his Majesty like a Grammarian, as if afraid of the

Ferula. Yet the Excellency of his Parts, could not shroud him from the *Spanish Ingratitude*, which for many Ages hath been observed to impend the greatest Desert: for after the *Prince of Wales's* safe Return, whose Restraint he did in the Opinion of the *Conde Olivares* too strongly oppose, he fell into Disgrace, and was, with his Son, most cruelly cast by; being, if a *Papist*, no rigid one, as may appear by many of his *Stories*: amongst which this is one he told, upon some Question he was asked concerning Intercession. "The Picture of our Lady being observed to weep, (an ordinary Deceit used by the *Fryars* to wring Money from the Ignorant) the Neighbourhood where it happened became much troubled, as esteeming it a bad Omen for the future: Nor were the Church-men backward to foment this Fear, though strongly opposed by an exceeding old Man in the Village, that did maintain it was unlikely to be so; who upon this was convened, and did as stiffly before the Fathers of the Inquisition justify what he formerly had said: And being by them demanded how he came to be so well acquainted with the Mother of God, he reply'd, he knew every Inch of her, as having been then the Prentice of the Joyner that set her up; and by his Appointment had bored a Hole in her Back-side with his biggest Auger, a Hand deep: From whence he concluded, that if ever she could have wept, it would have been then.

To end with *Embassadours*, where I began, it is an Employment more suitable to the Prudence than Candor of a free Spirit; conformable to an excuse of an Honourable Person I did once know, who chosen to this Office, rather in relation to the greatness of his Estate, than Love of the King; answered, he could not undertake it without ruining his Majesty's Affairs, for want of Impudence, and his own, through the greatness of the Expence.

34. Such as are exact Observers of the proceedings of Nature, find her not so bountiful in her Distributions, as to accumulate all her rich Endowments on one and the same Individual : So as many can write well; who by reason of too great a Confluence of Words and Matter, or for want of Confidence, through which their Tongues, no less than their other Organs, become shackled and Paralytick.) are rendred unintelligible, and so impertinent Speakers ; whereas others, owning no mean Perfection in both these, appear upon trial no body at Transaction, the highest effect of Prudence : Though the two first for the most part run away with the Applause; because the latter is a milder Temper, and not so able to rant out her own Commendations, yet deserves best to be indulged by Princes, as being indeed the greatest Rarity in these Northern Climates, not yet famed for much excellency in Negotiation : For want of which and secrecy (the Seal of Policy) great Affairs have miscarried in my time, Though under the conduct of Persons in other Capacities not unuseful, especially those of Writing and Speaking, qualities yet more apt to raise Broils, than able to compose them : which is indeed an Employment for more steady Heads, and such as from their Child-hood have learned to Barter and Contest.

35. Though to write and speak intelligible to the weakest Capacity, be very commendable, yet a Minister of State ought to be able, by making such *Parentbeses* in his Art, and leaving out *Points*, *Commas*, &c. to render the Sense Ambiguous, where the farthest extent of Benefit or Loss in a Negotiation, cannot yet be perfectly Discovered, upon which a Denial, Excuse, or farther Debate may be made use of ; not so easily done in a Tongue universally,

versally understood as *Latin* seems to be. The ordinary imploying of which in all or the most Things treated about, amongst Neighbours, may help to discover a Reason, why *England*, and all other Nations esteemed North, are so frequently over-reached by *Spain, Italy, France, &c.* That own Inhabitants far wiser than to be ashamed of, or to disavow their Native *Idiom* through a Pride they take in being perfect Masters of one more Foreign. Yet upon their drawing towards a Conclusion, they may yield so far to Equity, as to chuse *Latin* for the most Indifferent, and subject to the least Mistakes. Nor can I, being fallen on the Art of Writing, think it any great Impertinency to note, that the illness of your Ink, or the frequent taking up Hairs with a Pen, may put a Man out of the road of his former Sense and Line of Invention: wherefore that ought to be fluent, and this good.

36. It is no bad Counsel for a Traveller to appear in his best Equipage upon every remove to a new Place; especially if he hath no better Recommendation than his own to procure his Welcome, commonly suitable to the Opinion People do at first sight apprehend of his Worth, the best Assurance they conceive of honest Payment, which Persons meanly habited give small Caution for; and therefore rarely admitted to a convenient Lodging, or good and cheap Pension or Diet. A new Commer having nothing to render him acceptable, or to advance him in the World's Estimation, but a genteel Garb and decent Habit: yet under this Advice, that it be not *Clinkant* or *Rich*, since Gold-lace, Rings or Jewels, hath not seldom rendred Travellers the prey of Braves and Murderers. Besides an over high Ostentation puts an Excise on all things you want or are forced to buy. Nor is this Counsel the less to be esteemed, because borrowed from

from a Scot, whose usual Custom is to shroud themselves under the Title of *English*: And if Owners of any Merchandise, they take up the best Houses they can get, by which they gain Credit, though their Landlord doth not seldom lose his Rent. Wherefore no Honour, Profit or Safety to be known an Owner of their Acquaintance, lest you fall into a Repute no ways suitable to a Gentleman, who by just dealing may gain in a short Time, from all so great a Confidence, as may render himself secure, and what he wants, supplied at the best Hand.

37. Kings have their Station, no less than Motions in slippery Places, and had need of good Eyes: Wherefore if their own be weak, it behoves them to be circumspect by whom they are led. Courtiers, for the most part, intending their particular Interests, rather than Things of more publick Concernment. From whence it may be concluded, that in case of Defect, which all Princes are, upon some Temptation or other, either at Home or Abroad; liable to; Birth, next to Sufficiency, is to be regarded; the Sense of Honour supplying in divers Persons the place of Conscience: Religion, in our Days, being so blended in Hypocrisy, that 'tis come to signify in Statesmen greater Danger than Advantage, by raising more Distrust than Confidence. King *James*, out of a too strong Presumption of his own Reach, did not weigh the Weakness of those he admitted to the Council-Table: Which might have been the better excused; had his Juncto consisted of such as were Noble and Wise: But since these Indowments were not only frequently wanting, but a Pension from some one or more foreign Princes taken to suborn Fidelity, who can wonder the Commonwealth fell into Distempers, after the Governours had totally neglected

ed the wholesome Regimen Queen Elizabeth had so long used with good Success: And did never cease tampering, till by new Conclusions they had put it wholly out of Frame. King James participating so far of the Misfortune of all passionate Men (especially such as abound in Fear) as he carried always a Traitor in his Face; of which every wise By-stander was able to make use. And from this Patency his Policy was not only enervated, but rendred more destructive, than an open and candid Discovery might possibly have proved. From whence his Majesty may be thought not thoroughly acquainted with the Constitution of England, when he bestowed the strongest of his Labours in the suppressing and vilifying the Nobility, not only found the Glory, but the real Safety of the Nation: Till their Virtue was allayed through a too great Dilatation, by which the House of Lords became numerous, and as it were of one Nature with the Commons: A Fault so far incapable of Amendment. as the King was forced, for want of a Party strong enough for his particular Service, every Session to increase their Number: Who being exhaled out of the greater Mass of Gentry, through the Heat of Affection, or cast into this Figure by the Help of Mammon, they brought up with them into the House of Commons the same Desires they had of a Reforming all Things amiss in Church and State; which in a greater Paucity, the Lords could not have so much felt; being above all Oppression, but what dropped upon them from the Anger of the Prince, about whom they had, in their Absence, some Friend or other to mediate in their Behalf. I confess our Kings have been often worsted by their Peerage, but very rarely bettered. Nor were the Conveniencies of any other Government put in the Scales, much less Monarchy exploded; the antient Nobility being in their greatest

Fury.

Fury and highest Pride, wise enough to remember the Plume of State could not be ruffled without putting in Disarray all their smaller Feathers. Nor were the Kings of this Nation, before Freeholders grew so numerous, and Honour came to be valued by the Candle, not Desert, to seek with whom to compound, in the greatest Dangers their own Tyranny, or others Ambition had cast them upon; because the chief Leaders in all Rebellions were Persons of Quality; and bore so much Zeal to the Preservation of their Country, being of the same Piece with the Crown, as not to demand more than the Prince could well spare, and without which themselves, their Tenants, and Friends (amounting amongst them all to little less than the whole Commonalty) could not be happy; it being the Nature of this Climate to love *Parliaments*, and abhor all *Arbitrary Government*. Wherefore the damage the long *Sessions* brought, or might farther have accumulated upon this wretched Nation, had it not been stopped by the Hand of *Providence*: which (considering the Unwillingness of the Remainder to give over, or call others to them better able, if not more willing to unload the People) ought not (in my Judgment) to be applauded. It being as unnatural for a *Parliament* to be perpetual, as for a *Person* to be continually fed with *Vomits* and *Purgations*. But to wind up these politick *Enthusiasms* (at least for the present) out of my Head. The *English* used their Kings, in case of *Rebellion*, as the *Catholick Princes* were wont to do the *Pope*, from whom, after they had taken away, for former *Misdemeanors* all that he had, they did, out of *conscience*, fear of their Neighbours, of their own *Conveniency*, quietly admit him, or some other, into the same See, &c. wisely apprehending that no Quiet can remain, either in *Church* or *Commonwealth*, without a *Governour*, or
Community

Community of Strength sufficient to head and maintain the *Laws*. Wherefore the *Fifth Monarchy-Men*, together with the Pretenders to a present *Terrestrial Kingdom of Christ*, (if not able to produce more authentick Warrant than hitherto they have done) deserve little Protection from the *Magistrate*, because they deny *Obedience*, where it is without question due.

38. It may be numbred amongst things noted of dangerous Consequence, for a State to be governed by an uxorious Prince, though reputed no Fool in other Relations. It raising so great Jealousies both at home and abroad, as none will treat with him about Business of any secret Concernment, but upon an unavoidable Necessity; being in all Negotiations bound to communicate as punctually with the Queen as the King, upon a no less Penalty (in case she should think her self slighted) than the Ruin of the Affair. The like Caution may be given in reference to such *Privado's* or *Mignons* as are really, or thought able to dispose of their Master's Concessions: which, besides the Dishonour it brings to the Person of the Prince, causeth a far greater after Indigency, out of Distrust (in all Treaties with Foreigners, no less than his own Council at home) than there can be found room for, where but one is to be addressed to, since Prudence forbids to venture wholesome Counsel (ever distasteful to some) in a Bosom not tight enough to contain it. Wherefore in such effeminate Courts, Wisdom is not to tamper at all, or to fit Advice to the Distaff, rather than Scepter, as the more dangerous Weapon, and from whence many Blows have proceeded in my Time, capable of no milder a Cure than Loss of all Hope for the future, if not of Estate and Life it self. Nor is it possible for such Kings to be better attended:

rended than by Fools and Parasites, being compelled upon all Events to take the worst of Counsels themselves, and as upon their own Score, out of shame to say from whence they had it. Nor can a Prince, in Prudence if in Justice, accuse his Consort for any Incontinency in Speech, after such an Example given, as to tell her what is not fit for any other besides himself to know. Where Polygamy is in use, this Error, of most dangerous Consequence to all in a superlative Power, is not so frequent. It being inconvenient if not pernicious for such to love or hate any, beyond so exact a Proportion in either of these Passions, as may disenable him to alter upon every Assurance of a contrary Desert. A small Blemish in the Conduct of a private Family, becomes a no less pernicious than ugly Deformity in that of a State: where the Wives of Kings should wholly intend the Content of their Husbands, and Security of the Nation, in producing a fair and unquestionable Succession; and not by sidling (as they are too commonly found in Europe) with Government, to put all out of tune: From whence it may be thought no bad Counsel, for those of the first Magnitude in a State, to be no longer in private Conversation with Women, than during the less serious Employment of Love: Their Advice like Eve's being not seldom suborned from the Maligners of their Husbands Felicity, and the rest of the Time spent in querimonious Accusations of his best Servants, or as unreasonable Demands in favour of their own. So as if the Head of Sampson had contained but the Tithe of that Strength said to have resided in his Hair, a Woman had never understood where it lay: who through an impertinent and tedious Importunity (which is not seldom mixed with Deceit) do often beguile such into a Discovery, as have been thought proof against Honour, Money,

ney, or the Rack it self. And because I apprehend this Caution to be of greater Concernment than it hath been imagined, take this Example which lies yet amongst a Number more crowded in my Memory, as thought the fittest, because brought about through a Combinanion of *Passions*, of which *Fear* got the Predominance by the Mediation of *Lust*.

Queen *Elizabeth* being presented with an Overture out of *Spain*, so secretly managed by the Counsel there, as the first News of its Approach came with it self; the Messengers (out of fear of a Surprisal) dispensing with the Ceremonies commonly used in behalf of Embassadors, (because it appeared something prodigious, considering the Pride of his Nation) did much inflame the *Lord Treasurer's* Desire to know the farthest Extent of the Negotiation, as conducing to a present Advantage, that such an Answer might be made as should in some Proportion quadrate with the Demand of the *Catholick King*, at that time standing upon Terms little different from those of an Enemy, and being informed from the ordinary Espials he kept about his Person, that the Attempt was difficult; if any thing nearer than impossible, the *Don* out of Distrust still carrying his Instructions in his Bosom: *Burgbley* caused such a *Jesuit* to be apprehended, as by reason of former Miscarriage could not expect Mercy, and imparts his Desires to him under as large Premises, if he brought them about, as Threats to be revenged on him or his Associates, if he found himself abused. All which, though with some Reluctancy he undertook and performed, through the Mediation of a fair Lady that first took away his Commission, and then laid it again under his Pillow whilst he slept: So wise are Women, or such Fools be Men during the time they abide under their Incantation.

39. Few Marriages have succeeded better, than those contracted between the *Austrian-Family* and *England*. Nor is this a bare Result of Luck but Reason: The remoteness of *Spain*, but above all, their Love to their own Sunshine, Customs, and Religion, having fixed their Affections so firm to their own Doors, as they have no desire for change: A Quality the levity of other Nations that renders them the more universal Citizens of the World, doth not admit of: whereas a *Spaniard* is a rare Ingredient in any Climate but his own. Out of which may be drawn this Presumption, that their Ladies cannot but be thought to leave an Issue subject to the less Question. Nor is the natural Frugality of this graver People (seldom found amongst the *French*) a small Advantage to the *English Court*; and might not unpossibly cure it of that expensive itch she hath long born to change her Fashions; an Humour no less mad than destructive. And through the Prosecution of which, all marks of Knowledge are removed. and the serving Man, with the Master, the Mistress with the Maid reduced to an equal Parity in relation to Distinction, where they have no more certainty to guess by, than is deducible from the Habit. Whereas in *Queen Elizabeth's Days*, and long since, all Degrees of persons were discernable by their Cloaths. Nor hath any abuse passed over under so little notice, made deeper Impressions into the Wealth of both *Court, City, and Country* than this; or hath rendered them more the Objects of Envy and Contempt: who are in this become so ridiculous, as to own Fashions, by which they are so manacled as they cannot stir, carrying their Arms in as great a restraint, as the Woman of *China* were reported to bear their Feet; through which they are necessitated to remain idle, as not able to use their Hands, or any other honest

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Diverſion, but what can be deduced from Diſcourſe ; which the *Spaniſh* Gravity waves. Their Ladies being unlike the *French*, whoſe luck having been of late to be left Guardians to Minor Kings, do aſſume to themſelves a ſufficiency to manage a State : through which their Huſbands come to be perplexed in their Affairs.

40. Though Hope intrudes her ſelf as a *Medium* in all Diſtreſſes, yet it cannot but be found in experience to obſtruct (if too far rely'd upon) the Application of more prevalent Remedies, by dazzling the Underſtanding ; and like a white Witch, keeping Reſolution ſo long in ſuſpence, and employed in ceremonial Applications, as the ſingle Fit of a Feavour doth not rarely in a ſmall time prove Owner of the Danger of an incurable Heſtick. And thus through a plauſible and natural Compliſance, Hope becomes the falſe Prophet of Fortune, who by her more happy *Predictions* is able to ruin often the Affairs, and not ſeldom the *Persons* of *Princes* ; the evil Conſequence of which having been found to produce ſadder Effects than thoſe of Deſpair (the youngſt Daughter of her Siſter, *Fear*) who though laſt heard, hath ſometimes been obſerved to give none of the worſe Counſels. Nor is Play looked upon by me for a weak ſomentor of this childiſh Deception : And therefore marked here, as elſewhere, for dangerous and deſtructive to *Princes* and thoſe at the *Helm*, making them expect the like Auspicious Changes in worldly Occurrences, as they do ordinarily obſerve in the flux and reflux of Luck at Cards and Dice : Not apprehending, through a contrary Cuſtom, that though the Terms be equivalent in relation to uncertainty, (all Games being a kind of War and Conteſt for Superiority) Yet the *Cunning* uſed by *Politicians*, like that of *Cheaters*, will overcome the ſtrongest Endeavours

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vours of Fortune, if unassisted by the same Advantages. Wherefore since the success of a Battle depends not only upon the imperceptible Conduct of Providence, but the Mysterious Inductions of a Prudence confined to no other Goodness but what relates to Victory; a Prince ought to quit himself of all Dependance upon this blind Goddess *Chance*, with as much dexterity, as his own *Preservation* and the emergency of his Affairs will admit. The security of Fortune, like that of Unthrists, seldom proving gainful at the Conclusion. Manifest in *Charles Duke of Burgundy*, and many others easy to be produced, who out of a ridiculous Gaiety, did forfeit his present Felicity, together with his Life, in an imprudent Expedition against the *Helvetians*, who, with half the Charge he was at to ruin himself, might have hired them to destroy one another. And all this was attempted upon no stronger a Mediation or Assurance than that of Hope, and the Incouragement of those suborned to betray his youth into the Hands of Fortune. From whence may be deduced this wholesome Aphorism of State; That *what is safe can hardly prove dishonourable*: the Report or Opinion of Foreigners being as far below a Prince, as Prudence is above Valour. Not unlikely to be the Reason so few Nations have prospered under a Military Counsel, who by often provoking Success, do at last drive it quite away. Wherefore if a Prince in a Civil Commotion (especially where he is left the Liberty of Choice) apprehends a Power near equivalent with his own, it can be no Imprudence to knock off, by yielding to the first Demands of his Subjects ever more reasonable than those can be expected shall come attended with a greater Probability of Success on their side: The Rabble being seldom capable to learn at a cheaper Price than woful Experience, That *the fall of a Prince doth rarely produce any milder a consequence, than the*

the undoing of his People, by putting all things into a Combustion, and teaching the Monster to know its own strength, which cannot safely be opposed but with Weapons made of the same Iron; the Application of foreign force appearing to Prudence little better, if not worse than the Disease, as having been the Original of most of the Conquests we read of. All which may tempt a King to a charitable, rather than a bloody Compliance, more subject to impair than better, the Condition of a Natural Prince, who upon any Success cannot be cruel, without irritating his own party, no more than merciful, since the first will increase their Fears: as the latter doth delude their Hopes: which in such Cases cannot be satisfied but with confiscations, not possibly to be so equally divided, as not to occasion more Envy than Love. Because in case of Victory, he is no more able to punish all that appeared against him, than to satisfy their Expectations that stood for him, who in another Commotion may upon that Score be as ready to become his Enemies: The Impudence of Soldiers increasing more by one intestine War, than three foreign; and do breed in a Politick the like Distempers too great a Quantity of Blood is found to cause in a natural Body. Wherefore since the Marks of precept make not so deep Impressions, as those of example, all former ill success being imputed to some miscarriage in the Attempt; as the good is cried up beyond desert, it may not be bad Prudence in Kings to obliterate out of Books all marks of Sedition (as I heard that famous Antiquary Sir Robert Cotton say, Thirty had been in England since the Conquest) lest Posterity should reduce them into Precedents for the like Disorders. To conclude, if a Prince finds his Friends (which in a Rebellion are hard to be discerned from Enemies) not able at the first Essay of Force to bring in the Conspirators, The Lions Skin is to be divested, and all Hope laid by,

by, but what may be deduced out of Compliance; for fear some about his Chair should discover the weakness of his Game, or by playing booty ruin him quite: *One Loss* being in such *Cases* more than an ordinary *Presage* of a greater to follow. For though the *Rabble* are not capable of *Prudence* enough to temper themselves, they own so much Strength, as, through the guidance of others, they are able to distemper a State. The Materials being easier to be discovered than the Contrivers of any Rebellion.

41. Plantations and Communities, like Fish-Pools and Lakes are quietest, if not most happy at first founding or storing. For after some Revolution of Time hath rendered them numerous, Necessity, no less the Parent of Spurious, than Legitimate-Arts, doth in a natural Favour to Self-preservation, teach them to cheat and oppress one the other. Wherefore the Golden-Age, so much celebrated in Poetry, * is as remote from Fiction as Miracle. The Earth affording more Felicity to a few than many, which those People bordering upon the Sun, from whence Mankind is at first said to proceed, might, by reason of a slower Increase longer enjoy; till by falling into Conjunction with our colder Climes, and (so) apter for Generation, she came to over stock her self: Losing the universal Felicity in a Croud of Inhabitants. From whence sprung not only the Use, but an unavoidable Necessity of introducing Government, which falling under distinct Headships or Royalets, needed no greater Provocation to Rapine and War, than the strongest found in their natural Temper: The same Malignancy abounding then, as doth now, though paliated by the great Plenty of all

* See, *Ovid's Metamorphoses.*

things the World afforded at the Beginning: none being so much in love with *Choler* or any other *Passion*, as to fall into it unprovoked. This proves Want, the Original of Law, as *St. Paul* makes that an Occasion of Sin. And from hence might spring a greater Sincerity in the Service of God. the sole Refuge of those that have none other to fly to. It being common with all Men to extend their Hope beyond the Proportion of what they fear; and therefore easily flattered into a Belief of any Felicity though never so improbable or remote. And because this is natural and imprinted in the Character of all Humanity I look upon it as none of the weakest Assurances of our future Bliss.

42. The World was never in so serene a Temper, as under *Augustus Caesar*, during whose Reign, the King of Heaven and Earth appeared, and the Temples of War stood sealed up, so as the Gods and Goddesses assigned by the Heathen for Military-Employments, had leave to play; being emancipated from all Perturbations arising through the Variety of Petitions the contrary Interest of Mortals caused them to make. Nor can this Halcyon Tranquility be in reason imputed to any remoter earthly Cause, than the entire Unity of those Times, terminating in the single Person of a moderate Prince. From whence may be naturally deduced this Theorem, that *Christendom* would not only strengthen her Posture against the *Grand Seignior*, but be more secure in her self, under One-Monarch, than thus cantonized as she is. Though I shall not dispute what Nation is most opportunely situated for such a Design, to avoid Controversy. being as ready (and I believe under Protection of as strong Reason) to present *England*, as others may be to offer *France*, or any Member belonging to the House of *Austria*. Wherefore to

pass over the Discourse of an universal Monarchy, as favouring too much of the Utopian-Dialect, and rendred unpossibile through the huge and invincible Proportions, so much Time, Ignorance of the Church, and Wisdom of Princes hath laid together, I shall modestly examine, whether inferior Commonalties and small Royalets be not as great a Bar to an universal Tranquility, as the extravagant Power of the Peerage was to *France*, before moderated by the Wisdom of *Lewis* the Eleventh. These less Potentates being compelled, through Weakness and Want, to cast the Balls of Contention amongst the mightier Monarchs, which if reduced to an absolute Obedience, as they are already to little less, through a necessary Dependance from their own Preservation, on *France* or *Spain*; their Malevolence rendred, through Fears and Jealousy, general, and not seldom contracted out of false Suggestions, might be rebated; and the more powerful left at better leisure to attend the Motions of the Ottoman-Family, and stop the Leaks of Heresy and Schism, which if suffered to run on, will suffocate the Power, if not totally eclipse the external Glory of the Christian Religion. Nor can a better Cause be found, why the Pope's Power over Kings (no question at first usurped) should still remain floating betwixt the Bladders of Ignorance and Superstition, but that he is able to foment a Party amongst these, which he can increase out of the Natives of any Nation that doth oppose him. Thus, as it were through an Antiperistasis raised between a burning Zeal in the People, and Fear of the Prince, he comes to domineer over all alike, but those have crept from under his Censures; who are nevertheless liable to his Lash, at some time or other, in respect of the Number of Seminaries he hath ready (yet unpaid by himself) to vindicate his Quarrels in every place.

Nor are the Desires of the *Pope*, no more than the rest of such *petty Princes*, as have nothing but Shifts to subsist by, cordial for the total Abolition of the *Turk*, out of a Dread of themselves; which also extends to the disturbing of an Universal-peace: They looking upon the Diminution of their Grandeur, as the only Sacrifice able to purchase it. And this gives them, like Whelps, the Boldness to bite the greater Monarchies by their Legs and extremer Parts, when they find them at odds amongst themselves, or (which is worse) grappled with the Grand Seignior. And he that is ignorant in this, cannot be thought knowing in the imperial History, no more than in other Passages where not only his Holiness, but the most Christian, to obtain Advantage of the (in that) more Catholick Kings, are reported to have made a solemn League with this Enemy of Christ. Nor have the *German Princes* remained long tongue-tied in this behalf, no more than their *Cesar*; who may be the better excused, as having done it sometimes to prevent a more immediate Danger from them at home. It being common with these petty Governments to hatch such Plots, and give Birth to those Designs with which the rest of the World is commonly disturbed: Manifest in the Duke of *Byron*, formerly so far instrumental to the Reduction of the Crown of *France* who became after to have his Fidelity corrupted through the Poison he received from *Savoy*; that continual Thorn in the Sides of her Neighbours. Nor can *Rochel* acquit her self so well during the time her Walls did separate the Inhabitants from the Obedience of their Prince, as for the Honour of the *Reformation*, I desire it could from like Practices, no more than other Corporations &c. have done; the Blemishes of which it goes against the Grain of my Profession to discover: Though I wonder from the Inspiration of what
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Spirit we come to prosecute the Followers of an unrevealed Anti-Christ, for ought I ever yet could learn from any Expositor, with so great an Animosity, and pass without Notice, one doth face us already: Being without question better able and more ready to do greater Dishonour and Mischief to the Christian Religion, than the Bishop of Rome can be tempted to, in regard of his own particular Interest. Through which is justified that common Imprudence general in the World, where Men prosecute a small Damage from a Neighbour, with a fiercer Revenge, than a greater sustained by an Enemy; like *Conies*, that may be observed to tear and fight with those of their own kind, but will make no Resistance against the *Pol-Cat*, the common Enemy of all. And thus do our high-nosed hypocritical Zealots that pretend to smother rank Idolatry in all Professions but their own: yet in the mean time are found not only to neglect the open and professed Antagonists of Christ, but with *Pharaoh's* Lean-Kine, are observed to devour the Revenues, and take the Houses of God into Possession, under the Pretence of a Reformation; first begun in *Germany*, which, as some have thought, was left by Providence to the *Austrian-Family*, not out of God's Wrath, but a tender Care of the Christian Affairs.

43. Had the Catholick King sought extension of Empire at the Prejudice of *Asia*, and not in-croached upon the Territories of his Christian Neighbours, he might in Probability been nearer, if not his whole Ends, yet far more than he is Master of, or can in Likelihood be ever able to obtain, by the Course he takes. Nor is this my single Opinion, but an Assertion of a *Spaniard* * in a

* *Lorenzo Gratian's* political Aphorisms, 12mo.

small Treatise, where he handles five *Problems*, of which this appears not to favour of the least Likelihood : Since in the first Prosecution of such a Project, his Sails would not only be emptied of much of the Envy all the *Princes* in *Christendom* do swell with now in reference to his Undertakings, but filled with their Wishes for a happy Success. Nor could the *Pope* in Shame, if in Conscience, have refused him a *Crusado*, or any Assistance the Church could afford, at least within his own Kingdoms, if he should have owned an Impudence to deny a larger *Contribution*, or the uttermost of his Endeavours to stave off *France* from fastening upon his Patrimony in his Absence. Nor can Ambition as *Machiavel* wisely observes, promise it self a more probable Success than is likely to follow an Invasion of *Turkey* : whose Strength, as the same Author attests, lies more in Tradition than real Truth, at this Day in peace with the *Persian*, and so secure of the rest of *Christendom*, as if they were all asleep, yet hath not been able to wrest Candy, in all this time, out of the weakly supported Hands of the *Venetians*. Nor doth any Prince in the World own those Advantages for such an Attempt as the *Spaniard* : his other Limb, the Emperor, lying at the Mouth of *Constantinople*, ready to attack him upon the sound of any Mutiny or Rebellion, at this Day very frequent amongst them : And might, with the more Probability of Advantage, be fomented, because the People are in a Condition not capable to be impowered. Nor is there any Nation in the World of more contrary Complexions in relation to People and Religions. Nor can any Man think it a Matter of Difficulty, to take in the Grand Seignior's Out-works that hath heard what Report Sir *Robert Mansel* made at his Return from *Agier*, where, upon sight of a Commissionless Na-

vy that King *James* sent, the Patrons became Suitors to their Slaves for Mercy.

44. Though *Macbiavel* may deserve Commendations, for the excellent Use he hath made of the Proceedings of his first happy, then miserable Acquaintance *Cesar Borgia*, Son to Pope *Alexander* the Sixth. Yet I doubt, if himself had filled the same Room, and owed the like Advantage, whether he had been able to have attained to that height *Cesar* did, though in Wisdom and Splendor of Birth not inferiour to him, it requiring one Spirit to write, and another to present to the Life, and suitable to every Occasion; all Scenes both *Comical* and *Tragical* in relation to Friends or Foes, likely to furnish out, with a present Security or future Continuance, a Person fit to mount into a Throne made vacant by Fraud; since none but such as from their Birth have been used to personate what really they never were, can, in this wise Author's Opinion, pretend upon a less Hazard than the Ruin of himself or his Family, to the Government of State: To which there are required such contrary Intricacies, as whilst one is unraveling, another twines; so as without an exact Observance of those Elements of Policy he prescribes, there can be no Hope for a Tyrant to subsist. Nor were these Aphorisms common only, to *Cesar Borgia*, or died with him, but continue to this Day, especially in *Italy*: where no Wickedness is shunned, any ways conducing to the Extention of Empire and the Ends of Ambition. His Holiness himself entertaining all Means for lawful and right, carrying any probability of advancing his Children or Nephews. In which they have remained so long prosperous, as most of the small Princes beyond the Alps, are themselves, or their Wives, chips of the Cross, and meer Excrescencies of the Policy and Power of the

church; which *Practice* is made so common through *Custom*, as all Marks of *Reproach* lie covered, if not in the *Nature*, in the *Necessity* of the Attempt. Nothing less than a superlative Strength being able to secure the Issue of a present Pope, from the Rapine and Spoil of him that may not unpossibly succeed. It running quite contrary to the wise Practice of the Conclave, to chuse twice together out of one and the same House, but rather to exclude all the immediate Possessors, Confidants, or Kindred out of a Dread they have to affix the Miter in a particular Family. Yet notwithstanding the Pope's prudent Management of Affairs, during their own time, they have not seldom been so foully mistaken by counting upon the Score of their own Judgments and natural Affections, as to anticipate the Ruin of them they studied to preserve, for want of making an impartial Survey of the Prudence of such Children or Nephews as they sought to advance, and a thorough Consideration of the Strength of their Complexions and Depth of their Consciences, whether able to digest all sorts of Blood, cold and hot, likely to obstruct the Ways to what was aimed at. The venerable Historian *Guicciardine* noting, that though *Alexander* the Sixth was at first so far perplexed at the Death of his eldest Son, as to renounce the World, the same Author saith, he resumed it again upon the first Assurance given, that his other Son the Cardinal had been the Murderer; and did, after his Resignation of the Red-Hat, redouble his Endeavours to raise him; as if he had looked upon the throwing of his Brother into *Tiber*, and the laying his Sister upon the Bed of Incest, as a good Portent of his future greatness; whose Story though something gelt by reason of the Scandal it gave, may be worth the reading, no less than *Machiavel's* Notes upon *Cesar Borgia*; out of which,

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and all *Politicks* else, may be observed, that People endure Oppression with more Patience, from an old, than a young Prince, as thinking it less durable, and from an Usurper, than one ascending through a continual Succession; as esteeming it more natural, and no less than they looked for, or do acknowledge to have deserved, for not seeing when they were well: A Consideration a *Politician* should expunge by contrary Practices, leaving them a Liberty in all innocent Punctilios, and every thing else remaining to their Lives and Estates, so long as they remain quiet, let the Persons be of what Magnitude they will: suitable to the wise Conduct of *Spain*, where the Elder Family is suffered annually to renew his Claim to the Crown, though with as little Success as Interruption. Nor is it safe for a Prince incessantly to afflict his People, who may, like Dogs, quietly for a time endure it, though upon a too unreasonable Continuance they do not seldom so far participate of that Beast's (well known) Condition, as to fly in their Face. Wherefore Governours should, for their own sake, no less than the Nation's, imitate God, who though an absolute Disposer of *Promise* and *Performance*, doth conform the latter punctually to the first: which whosoever doth not, may, like a drunken Man, be justly thought intoxicated in his Understanding; since the Breach of an Oath must needs be a Trap abominated by all, in relation to the more innocent Sheep, because honest Men hardly can dispence with the use of it, in the insnaring of such Wolves as do oppress and devour them.

45. *Machiavel* doth accuse as imprudent all such Princes (and most especially those whose Virtue, as he calls it, hath given a Beginning to Empire) that knew not when to stop that Issue of Blood,

which may at first be necessary to keep such Titles in, as have no better Colour to face their Legality, but what is attained by Prudence, or the Sword (from the Benevolence of which, all Powers now extant, were at their Original derived), but did continue their bloody Cruelties and malignant Aspect. Keeping by that Means the Peoples Discontents waking, and so by Consequence their own no less chargeable than terrible Fears and Jealousies; nothing being more obvious to Probability, than the raising some Spirits (amongst the Number of Enemies, such a continued Practice will in all Reason produce) as can never rest satisfied without Revenge; often brought about by so uncouth and improbable Means, and the Mediation of such despicable Instruments, as no Purvoyance can shield the Person of a Prince from: who, whilst his Prudence, like the Philosopher's Eyes, are fixed upon higher and more remote Dangers, he falls into some nearer Trap he never dreamt of. And to manifest the Truth of this Assertion, the same Author doth instance *Philip of Macedon* and many other Examples borrowed from Antiquity; which I shall wave, and only content my self with that of the Duke of *Buckingham*. That fell by the Hand of *Felton*, whose Picture I am the willing to draw, as thinking it well becoming the Bosom of all Persons in power. In which I am not likely to be partial, having to my Knowledge never seen the Man. Though his Father owed an Employment under mine in the Office of Remembrance for many Years. He was of a religious and quiet Conversation, given to no open Vice nor whimsical Opinions, being a frequent Hearer of those Preachers as were never found to give encouragement to such Practices, but rather the contrary: Prayers and Tears being the sharpest Weapons that were then formed in the Pulpit by *Parochial-Pastors*, whatever

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Escurers did; from whose Doctrine I have been told he was ever averse; nor was honest *Jack*, a Title always given him, (though rendred after more diffusive by the Duke's Enemies, than so ill a Consequence might merit) agitated by Revenge, or any privater Spirit than what he was perswaded did regard the Common-weal; as I heard *William* Earl of *Pembroke* protest, who could not but be the best informed, having assisted at his Examinations who did withal aver he never saw Piety and Valour better or more temperately mixed in one Person, nor was he found, as the same Lord attested, in any untruth. I confess that through the continual Inculcation of his Majesty's Chaplains, and others of the long Robe, he did disavow so far the Lawfulness of the Fact, which before his Conscience never blanched at, as he desired the Hand that did it might be cut off: But neither himself, nor the Indevour of the Duke's Friends could procure him a sharper Punishment, than Law and Custom provides in case of a Murder, for the meanest Subject. Nor can this Mission to the Tower be looked upon for less than the best Fortune so high a Malefactor could be capable of. Since during his abode there, which was many Weeks, he had a plentiful Diet provided for him at the King's Charge. By all which it may appear, the Man was only led through strong Enthusiasms, that *Buckingham* was an Enemy to the State: (An Opinion Princes ought above all things to avoid, by shunning every Occasion likely to represent him cruel or implacable in the Eyes of the People, by being continually tumbling and tossing that Lumber out of his way, which ought if at all) to be removed at one and the same time, and then with as little Noise and Injustice as may be, repitition of Punishments, Confiscations and Imprisonments being apt to be thought by those not able to see to the

the End of the Prospect (yet most considerable for Number) to result rather from the *Princes Nature* than Emergency of the Cause, and therefore not improper to alarm the most Innocent; rendering the Fable of *Hydra*, an historical Truth, the cutting off one Head producing from Kindred and Friends Hundreds in the place, of which perhaps the Major part were none before: nothing carrying a greater Propensity towards Fertility than Blood. Wherefore since a Tyrant, by reason of the crooked Ways that lead to an usurped Crown, holds not his Safety under so conscientious a Tie as a natural Prince, till he become so through Lenity, Justice, and Continuance: it behoves him to be more moderate in the Prosecution of others, lest through their Innocency, either real or imputative, his own Prevarications should be kept in Remembrance. And, for a Vindication of the contrary Practice, *Machiavel* presents as his best Pattern to the House of *Medicis*, (that had not only at first surreptitiously gotten, but did after regain, through the Mediation of like Arts, the Principality of *Tuscany*.) *Cesar Borgia*, who was found to remove all Enemies and Obstructions out of his way in gross, and not dribbling by retail: The People being as partial in their Pity, as ready upon the Apprehension of *Injustice* and Cruelty to exercise a more extravagant Tyranny of their own. For though a frequent punishing of single Persons may stop the Mouth of this Monster for a time, it doth more increase than diminish its Desire to bite, upon the Approach of a small Advantage, which is far easier found than may be imagined. Wherefore no cause of Discontent can in Prudence be admitted, but what is squeezed out by Necessity, but rather Lenitives applied: the Multitude being of so brutish a Nature, as to become more pliant to Obedience through stroking, than smart, especially

especially if any thing they fear lies in the way, or where, That they love, is removed; it remaining beyond Peradventure, that Clemency did never occasion Repentance, but in case of Example or Competitors, Blood being like Opium, which taken in a just Proportion causeth quiet, but that once exceeded Death. Or if *Patience* and *Connivance* should find their Virtue lost in some incorrigible Natures, yet the Error were easily redeemed; whereas Cruelty is of so staining a Quality, that, like the *Scorpion*, nothing can expunge it, but what results from its own Nature. Now where this Moderation is observed, and all Liberties, Honours, and Immunities religiously preserved, I apprehend no more cause of Grief than the *English* had occasion for Joy, when they exchanged King *Richard* the Third for King *Henry* the Seventh: It remaining indubitable, that however the first might be a Murderer, he did not with the second oppress the People: wherefore such as call him Tyrant, offer Violence to a Number of good Laws he made; and shew too much Partiality; if they esteem him the better Prince that brake them: Kings that succeed by Birth, acknowledging no Obligation to any but their Ancestors: whereas *Richard* endeavoured to gain the Love of the Nation, and did so far prevail, as to have an Army appear for him against the Duke of *Lancaster*, in those Days the Darling of the Commons, and wherein were divers of Quality; a strong Presumption of a juster and milder Temper in Government, than the ignorant and partial Historians of those times are found to record; so as though he may be reckoned amongst the worst of Men, his Laws will recover him a Place with the best of Kings, and no bad Precedent for those that may at first ascend, contrary to the Gusto of a considerable part of the People, whose Affections do cool or heat proportionable to their Fears

Fears and Oppressions, which none ought to continue; a doubtful Condition being the most terrible to Man.

46. Though *Alexander* and *Cæsar* amongst the Antients, and the Kings of *Sweden* in our Days, may be thought to receive their Impulses from the Lord of Hosts, yet the Damps and chill Proceedings that fell upon the Designs, especially of the first and last after their Decease, may give us leave to observe, how in all Ages such Nations have flourished most and longest as were able to maintain the choicest Prudence at the Helm: For want of which, after *Alexander's* Death, the *Grecian-Monarchy* was weakened, and in a Manner lost: in the Division his Captains made of it; each taking for his Share so great a Proportion, as his own Dexterity, or the Love of the Colony he commanded, gave him the Power to grasp: opening through this Means an Entrance for the *Roman-Conqueror*, which followed next and, by reason of a better Establishment, did longer endure. From whence it may be supposed, that the Fortune of *Greece* lay more in the Hands, that of the *Romans*, in the Heads of their Founders: Wisdom having proved, in all Ages more prevalent, at long running, than Success; which may become sometimes the Dowry, but never the Inheritance of a Fool, or the Owners of no farther discerning Spirits than the present. The Reason great Achievements do not seldom terminate no better than in the Ruin of his Name, Fame, and Family, that did at first bring them about: the Advancement of which is only able, if any thing be (an Opinion ever doubted of) to palliate the Blood, Labour and hazard such Undertakers run for the present, without casting up what attends them in future. Nor can I readily call to mind an Usurper that did ever better compose

compose his Affairs, than *William Duke of Normandy*, who, after the Defeat of *Harold*, the last great Card, likely to indanger his Game, is not reported continually to face the Nation of *England* with an Army (of no less terrible Aspect always to the People, than it is of dangerous Consequence sometimes to the Issue of a Prince after the Death of his Father ; their continual Readiness in being, affording them the fairest Opportunity to chuse a Successor) yet did secretly maintain a convenient Militia out of the Spoils allotted to such as had embarked their Fortunes with his : not passing any Land from the Crown, but upon Contract with the Owners to assist him at his call, with a Proportion of Horse and Men suitable to their Estate ; a Covenant not hard to be performed by such whose well-being lay wholly inclusive with his. And of these Tenants for Men and Arms there was not a few as appears in the Register yet remaining of their Names, amongst whom I am not ashamed to find those of Father and Mother : Nor did the mustering of these in every County, and upon all Occasions fail to answer, though with far less Expence and universal Terror, all the Ends an Army can serve for. Thus by concealing his Rod and sparing the People's Purses, he shewed them the Nation might be as happy under a Foreigner, as a Native, one Family as another : not possibly to be done but by removing out of the People's Eyes all Appearance of Oppression. There lying so vast a Difference between the Regiment of Love and that of Fear, as this may chance to stand, but that is never likely to fall. All which is said, not to condemn any contrary Practice, but modestly to shew, where divers Ways lead to one and the same End, the least destructive to the general Quiet ought to be taken, in Policy, if not in Conscience.

47. The Weight of Superiors will be born with the less Anxiety and Perturbation, if we seriously consider, that Oppression and Tyranny is not only natural but necessary to Preservation. For if the stronger Creatures did not spoil and devour the weaker, the whole Mass of Animals would perish by Famine; or stifle for want of Room. Since the Earth and Sea, Nature's Magazines for Provisions, are not able to sustain the Stock, a despicable Mouse or Pilchard would in small time swell to did they not become the Food of others. Wherefore wise Providence hath matched every Animal's Strength in their respective Gradations, with such proportionable Antagonists, that they are all contained within the Compass of a just Proportion (like a Nest of Boxes) through a Restraint from such as own a greater Extent in Power. And to counterpoise the Wisdom in Man, which renders him subordinate to none but his particular Species, the same Providence doth permit him to be actuated by such impetuous Passions and brutish Desires, as, through the Mediation of Excess, Covetousness, and Ambition, he becomes the Moderator, no less than Destroyer of his own kind. The Sword receiving from these a daily Commission in one place or other to kill and slay. And where this is too little to ballance the Incomes of Lust, an over Repletion calls in Pestilence and Famine to turn the Scales. All which cannot be voted Plagues, but in a respective Sense, as only relating to such as perish in them; since a great if not the most considerable part do receive Benefit by it, and Nature her Delight, which seems to reside in Variety. All this considered cannot but bear witness for Seneca's Truth, that nothing would accept of Life upon such hard Conditions as the Creature doth undergo, if it lay in its Power to refuse:
Whose

Whose Being, together with the Continuance in it, is imposed without any primary Consent at all, or future but for the Dread of falling into a worse: Adorning the glorious Chariot of Nature in this World, till like withered Flowers they be laid aside by the same Hand first gathered them out of nothing, and still preserves their Root through the Act of Generation, by which they are led in a brutish Sensuality to betray Posterity to the same Inconveniences, those capable of Reason cannot but apprehend incapable of Compensation from the highest tasted Content this World affords; that whirls about in a continual Circulation, changing the Forms, but not the Nature of things. Wherefore though it appear against the Decree of Providence to obstruct the Course of Generation, it may not be undecent to mind *Christians*, that the great Reluctancy usually found in them towards Death, doth not only question their Integrity in Religion, but Understanding: else they would never adjourn, by so much Labour and Anxiety of Spirit, what Nature hath allotted for all in general, without the Exception of any thing capable of Life: who may enjoy a free Prospect of all her Beauties, though possibly not of every Malignity within the Revolution of a Year, if not during the shorter space of Twenty four Hours; our time being composed of Day and Night; the rest appearing merely but a Repetition of the same thing. Now since it is the Sin of Knowledge, to under-rate what hath already passed by her in the visible Apparitions of Experience; so it may not unpossibly be as great a Mistake in Ignorance, to overvalue all she never tried: and consequently becomes the Cause of the general Terror apprehended in Death, the only Deprivation of temporal Pain, the farthest Confines of the Land of Knowledge, beyond which nothing is discovered, but what is ingraven upon the

the Pillars of Faith, read and interpreted according to the Dialect of the Place, and Manner of the Erudition, it is our Luck to fall under, and out of the Verge of which (without a miraculous Inspiration) it is next to impossible for a Man to extend his Belief. Wherefore in any Condition to leave the World unwillingly, or with an unsettled Hope (since 'tis the Decree of Nature, and Condition of our Birth, not to continue us here) cannot but appear in the Eyes of Discretion, no less Manly than Christian. Yet many are so unadvisedly foolish, as to multiply Deaths, through the Agonies their Fears raise in them, that one Day they must die: the sole Means left to free us from Oppression, if not to attain perfect Felicity, which no Servant of *Christ* can doubt of.

48. Our Saviour would never have commanded, under a like Emphasis, Innocency and Subtilty, had he thought them incompatible, or not rather as necessary in things sacred as prophane. It remaining unlikely, if not impossible (during this total Eclipse of Miracles, but what reflect upon the World under the Notion of Faith, which cannot be taken for other than implicate, in any thing that depends or relates to a more foreign Witness than our own) to keep Unity within the Bonds of Peace, but through Policy or (if you had rather have it so) Prudence: Though *Hooker*, who may be worthily placed on the highest Shelf ever *Clergyman* reached to, is not ashamed to intitle his Works by the first. Nor are the loudest Bawlers against Discipline found to neglect it in their own Affairs: but do rather back and improve the Power of it through the Force of the same Arguments they laboured formerly to confute it. Making a like Use of Scripture and Reason of State, as Marsh-Men do of their Sluices, by which they keep out the

Sea,

Sea, formerly Owner of the Place, and only im-
 ploy them for the Benefit of Land-Floods. Where-
 fore Discipline, which is the same thing in the
 Church, as Law in the State, can be no more spar-
 ed than Government it self; by which we are
 taught our Duty to the Magistrate, who without
 this will be as far to seek, when to command, as we,
 what to obey; from whence we shall find it an
 easy Descent into War, the greatest Hell upon
 Earth, and of most consequence to be avoided by
 People any Degree short of Mad Men. Now since
 we are not only led by the Example, but Precepts
 of the Apostles, to yield Obedience to our Gover-
 nours, this in my Apprehension avows it Presump-
 tion in any, below the Owners of a supream Power,
 to question the Decency, Sanctity, or Legality of
 what the Church hath heretofore, or may at this
 present avouch. For though really converted into
 Idolatry, which is Treason against God, as the
 Brazen Serpent was; or into Heresy or Sedition,
 which imports no less in relation to his earthly Re-
 presentatives, the Church and Prince (as the Mosai-
 cal Purifications, &c. were in the Days of Christ)
 yet it cannot warrant the Hands of any single
 Person, no not of the Multitude in gross, to ap-
 pear in their Abolition, unless by way of Petition:
 But to admit them as Trials of their farther Pa-
 tience, till God inclines the Heart of some lawful
 Power, the only Place such a Zeal can be safely
 kindled in, without threatening Destruction to the
 whole Frame. Men being commonly partial in
 their own Cause else such as stile themselves the
 best of them, would never have exploded the Cal-
 ling of Bishops (and suffered so many of their
 Persons to want, though approved of in their own
 Hearts, for Men no less exemplary in their Lives,
 than Learning,) under no milder an Aspect than
 Antichristian: yet did not at the same time refuse
 to

to themselves the imperious Title of the Kingdom of Christ, under which Notion the unworthiest amongst them did, only in a less Volume, though in the same or a larger Extent, exercise the like Power over the People of God (if the Nation afford any, a Blasphemy to doubt of) as was before held Tyranny by them for the Hierarchy to administer within the Circuit of a Diocese: not remembering the *English* Bishops have not only been Champions in the Cause of Reformation, but have justified the Conveniency of their Discipline through the Experience of the longest Peace and greatest Felicity *England* ever enjoy'd, and with the Effusion of the least Blood; which these had the Fortune or Will to be aspersed by. I confess what hath been said, is something beyond my intent, though much short of what might be said. Yet the Consideration of this little, may furnish out a competent Proportion of Charity both at home and abroad to restrain us from taking any publick Scandal: since the most, if not the worst of things the rigid, and precise blanch at, in our Days, were at the Beginning set up to as plausible an End as they labour now to pull them down: The first Intention of which, cannot be quite lost to any, but such as abuse them to a contrary Sense to what they were at first intended for; any more than a Mortal Misapplication of a wholesome Drug, by an ignorant Emperick, can render it Poison in the Hands of a Learned Physician. The same may almost be said of all the *Contronersies* in *Christendom*, where the *Priests* have reduced our guidance to Heaven into a gainful Art, by rendring the Ways thither so easy, as to be bought, or so difficult, as to be little less than impossible to be found.

49. I have often indeavoured the contrary, yet could never longer, than during some humble Extasy, separate any good Work in my self or another, from the Opinion of Merit; though no Man's Education and Faith did ever more bandy against it. From whence I have been often ready to conclude it as natural in Religion as Reason: For though a Pepper-corn doth in no Sense quadrate with the Value of a great Copy-hold, yet it doth serve to answer (as far as we are able) the Will of the *Donor*, and in that Sense alone, through the Mediation of Christ, Heir apparent to our Sovereign Landlord, it becomes acceptable it self though far below our Duty. For though, as a Christian of the reformed Church, I confess the principal Ingredients in our Creed incapable of reaching, but by the Hand of Faith; yet where the Seeds of good Works are not mixed, Religion grows flatulent and hypocritical: It being far easier and cheaper to refrain open and negative Sins, than to perform the more chargeable affirmative Duties of Charity: which if they were pressed home, not only in *Pulpits*, but *Practice*, and every one conscientiously examined, whether he professeth Sanctity to gain an heavenly or an earthly Inheritance, you would see Hypocrisy sneak away like the young Man in the Gospel, who was ready to *ride post to Heaven*, provided he might carry *his Riches behind him*. Now to prove Hypocrisy and Uncharitableness are the crying Offences of this Age, consider how many have, with *Zacheus*, met and compounded by Restitution for what they may not have peradventure come by so well. And in relation to Governours, to whose wiser Considerations I humbly offer these few following Observations, if they shall be pleased to cast their Eyes upon the Nation of the *Jews*, and inquire in what Condition

on they stood at the coming of our Saviour, and till *Vespasian* besieged *Jerusalem*, they shall find not only their Sins but Destruction proceeded from Hypocrisy; which doth wholly rob the Prince of that Benefit might be made of Religion, by converting it into a meer outside and deceiveable Godliness, far more destructive to Government than *Atheism* it self; hiding under the Cloak of Piety such wicked Designs as open Prophaneness was never found to bring about. Nor doth Reason or Experience afford better Means to divest this Mask, than by restoring Love and Charity to their ancient Splendor, and rendring them only the Marks of Confidence and Ways to Preferment: the Sense of Honour having been found alone more conducing to Fidelity, than the bare Forms of an over precise Zeal in the Company of Covetousness, with which at this Day more are thought to converse, than suits with the Honour of their Profession or Safety of the State; to whom I recommend a timely Reformation of these pretending Reformers of all but themselves.

30. If *Lucian* found cause to upbraid the ordinary *Scribes* in his Days, for owning more Knowledge and Piety to their Gods in their supercilious Aspect, and spurious Censures of others, than they were really Masters of themselves: what may we judge of the no less hypocritical than theatrical over-actings in ours; where it is ordinary with Men to bear the Impress in their Foreheads and Looks (like Mountebanks Bills) of more Sanctity, than the most exact Observer can note in their Lives or Commerce. Who fill those Rooms, Swearing and Prophaneness was wont to take up in Taverns and Plays, with more blasphemous and uncharitable Censures and Imprecations in the Church, against any Judgment looking a squint upon

upon theirs, though in things meerly philosophical, and undetermined. Nor are their Books free from the Leaven of Hypocrisy and Malice, especially if not able to answer the Spirit of Reason, he they oppose, is armed withal, nor the People willing upon their bare Warrant to stone the contrary Party, for then, like painted *Jezabel*, the lively Image of an Hypocrite, they proclaim him a Blasphemer against God and the King: Forgetting, that though a State may be indamaged through the Discovery of an Error, God and Nature are not gratified in the Persecution of Truth. Yet these Anti-Veritarians are such professed Antagonists to all the most probable Ideas in Philosophy or Reason, not hitherto screwed up to the highest Pitch; and in the mean time Advancers of Enthusiasm in Religion, known through the Mercy and Sufferings of *Christ* to be long since sufficiently revealed; that with the Red-Dragon in the Wilderness, they seek to destroy both *Parent* and *Child*: Of which, failing, they vomit out a Floud of insignificant Words and Reproaches against them, to the Discouragement and obstructing all future Indeavours. Wisdom, like Water in a Well, not exceeding an ordinary Height, till pumped or allured by Emulation or Honour. Nor is there a more probable Way to stop the Mouths of these railing *Shimei's* that curse and cast Dirt upon those *David's* which labour to quell Ignorance, the uncircumcised *Philistine* of the World, than by appointing all Books of Controversies to be garbled, and if found not strong enough for their Adversary, to restrain them from Silence cannot prejudice Truth comparably to an over weak Defence, manifest in Religion, and if maturely considered as palpable in Philosophy. Yet these bold Attachers of Wits do at first gain such Credit with ordinary Readers, upon a Presumption they durst not assault

sault these excellent Spirits but in an Assurance of greater Illuminations of their own; that they buy their Books through which Ignorance becomes encouraged and Knowledge depraved, by a Discovery of small Faults and perverting the Sense of more excellent Things. And thus Fools fall into Esteem for noting the Blemishes in wise Men, and they accompted simple, for wanting that absolute Perfection no ways attainable in this World. The Students of Reason in our Days lying under the heavy Fate the Mathematicians did of old, in being thought *Conjurers*, and *Atheists*; an Indictment I doubt not but the more refined Judgment, if not of this Age, of the next, will acquit the one of, as clear, as it hath the other. Wherefore in case of such purblind Censurers, make them rather the Objects of Scorn than Anger or Reproof. Such carping Natures, resembling Dogs, more encouraged and better gratify'd by the sharpest Answer than none at all; upon which they commonly give over, or meet with a fouler Blow from a Stander-by, and one never thought of, than you may decently give in your own Cause.

51. All things quadrating with Interest or Affection, though in their own Natures wicked and unjust, do labour to be furnished with such fair Pretences, as may palliate the Throws of Conscience: which through use becomes able with the Stomach to convert Poison into Nourishment, and the most enormous Sins and Cruelties into Comeliness and Zeal.

52. No Security can be given or taken either single or reciprocal between the *Prince*, and *People* but an Oath; held in all *Professions*, sacred, and its Breach of dreadful Consequence, till the *Pope*, arrogating the absolute Power of Christ's high Chancellor

Chancellor upon Earth, did dispense (under the Notion of Equity, Justice and Necessity) with the Breach of all Laws, both *Civil* and *Divine*, (amongst which *Perjury* is inclusive) and so from an undeniable Inference, Religion it self, superscribed by our blessed Saviour within this narrow Circuit of Love to God and our Neighbour, on every side invaded through this high Violation of Faith, no less destructive to the conscientious than impotent, and only advantagious to Princes and Subjects liquorish after Profit and Sovereignty: who, by reason of a vaster Power are able to perpetuate the greater Mischiefs, and so most likely to be aimed at by God in his first Institution of this most sacred Bond, in which his own Name and Honour is made the Pledge: And therefore his patient passing the Breach of it by in this World raiseth no less Confidence in the *Attest* that he shall never be punished, than Assurance in the Godly his Reward is not to be expected upon Earth.

The *Netherlands* after their Revolt, framed an Oath for the whole League, wherein all those formerly taken to the King of *Spain* were without Exception or any manner of Qualification abjured: by which I could understand no less when I read it, but that they called God himself to attest, that his Name was become of no Validity. Which to speak plain *English*, was as much as to forswear all Opinion of Religion, or Sanctity in Swearing. I do not think my Judgment of an Extent large enough to span the Height of such an Impiety as a National or Regal *Perjury* extends to, no more than the temporal Mischief it may bring to a Commonwealth, by giving Subjects an Occasion to think the Articles of Faith, virtually inclusive in an Oath, are of no more Validity, than Interest, through the Mediation of Power, is pleased to afford them. Yet it may imbolden me to believe,

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that those Learned amongst the *Catholicks* do not with us look upon Conscience as a distinct Quality or natural Indowment of Man, but meerly acquired by Custom at the Mediation of Shame or Loss, which upon the working or boiling of the Memory, is taught to approve this, or dislike that, according to the Esteem the Opinion of the Place, and Company they most commonly converse with, are pleased to rate it at: the smallest Morfel of Flesh taken into the Stomach upon a Fasting-day clogging it more, than a whole Armful of that which is more sinful doth in a Bed. Nor are they less troubled at the Memory of Losses and Apprehension of Dangers, than Offences against God; the which do not seldom produce far greater Agonies and Despairs: The Blood of ten Men in *Italy* being digested with less Reluctancy, than the Glance of a Rival's Eye. Wherefore we may imagine, they do really believe no such thing, but look upon Conscience not only as a Room in the Memory, that stood empty till the Fall; but a meer Bubble in the Imagination, which Fear and Hope by the Assistance of Use, can blow like a Glass in what Fashion or Bigness they please, shewing there, to the Life represented, good or bad according to the Tincture a former suborned Passion may have dipped them in: And this (wisely viewed) will be found of no more solid Substance, or drawn by no steadier Hand than Custom or Education, nor set in a more durable Frame than that of Fancy. And from this undervaluing of Conscience (the Security of the Good and Terror of the Wicked,) the Validity of Oaths is lost, or converted into Traps to catch the innocent and unadvised.

53: Conscience is no less sway'd through particular Interest, than the rest of Passions or Accidents

dents incident to Memory. Manifest in our *Henry* the Eighth, perhaps no more guilty than all Princes else, who at his Death looked upon the delivering *Empson* and *Dudley* (Instruments of his own and Father's Oppression) to the Fury of the People, * as a Sin of a deeper Tincture, than the Number of murdered Persons his Remembrance could not but at that time present him with. From whence we may conclude our selves in nothing more apt to be abused, than in the Calculation of our own Faults and Merits: And so, much unlikely to give a just Estimate of those that belong to others.

54. How darest thou (O Man!) judge another? carries such an awful Sound in my Apprehension, as I cannot but tremble at the general Boldness, one Profession takes to condemn another: so as none lie capable of Salvation under an universal Consent, This Church anathematizing what the next receives; which cannot but proceed from the more damnable Root of Uncharitableness; every where condemned throughout all Religions extant. Though equally culpable in imposing a Restraint upon every Way to Heaven, but what Custom and Education hath rendred familiar to themselves; each being really, or in their suborned Imaginations supposed able to detect Error and Absurdity in all divine Worship beside their own. Wherefore this Humour being universal, if not natural, it ought to cut off all particular Fewds, and mitigate the Rigor of Law, and Severity of every respective Prince; who can only justify (and that perhaps

* They were both Beheaded, upon the People's demanding Restitution for the great Sums of Money they had extorted upon *Penal Statutes*. See, *Whitlocke's Hist. of Eng. Fol. p. 197.*

rather to his particular Conveniency, than the Deities universal Mercy) the raising a Persecution upon no higher Provocation than Opinion, in no Man's Power to rectify, but upon a manifest Conviction of his Judgment.

Now since it is no Prodigy in the Schools, for Two Disputants to quarrel about one and the same thing, hid from them only through the Nicety of Distinctions, why may not such *Protestants*, as measure the *Catholick Profession* by the ordinary Standard of the Court of *Rome*, take, not only a false, but an uncharitable Survey, and too far to the Disadvantage of that Church, which hath professed Christianity ever since the Apostles time, and may look no more as canonical upon all the *Pope* for his Honour and Profit maintains, than we take for legal every Injunction that passeth from the King or Council-Table? many Ceremonies being admitted for Order, Splendor, and Decency, (which, under Correction, I may say, cannot be spared in less Corporations) that are not essential to Salvation, and confessed of no more Validity, than what they receive from the Inspiration of Power ; wherefore meerly Local, and of no larger Extent than his Holiness's Authority doth naturally, or is suffered through the Indulgence of Princes to reach. Nor doth the redundant Zeal of our *English Papists* (not to give it a courser Epithet) deserve less pity than Admiration; through which they are so far blinded, as not to see the *Pope's* Supremacy concerns them no more in point of Salvation, than it did the Subjects of *England* heretofore, whether a Lord spiritual or temporal should pass the Door first. It being impossible but such Punctilios at the Beginning should result from human Institution or connivance of Kings, from whose Benevolence or Ignorance those Appellations and that Power reached to the Bishop
of

of Rome, and not from him whose Vicar he pretends to be; our Saviour Christ owning no such Jurisdiction or extent of earthly Power. It is confessed, I should look upon that *Englishman* as a Betrayer of the Honour of our Nation, that denies the King's Claim to *France*, because his Ancestors once had it in Possession. Yet did I own Land and a Being there, it were a high Folly, if not Treason to maintain it upon the Place: The Title having possibly as justly reverted to them again, as it was at first assumed by us. Yet such Power hath the present Fear of losing their Interest in future Felicity, that it doth not only stifle the Sense of Reason and Concernment, but the Apprehension of Martyrdom it self which might altogether inform them, that since the Bishop of *Rome* converseth not here suitable to our Saviour, who was so far from disposing of earthly Kingdoms, as he refused to divide a particular Inheritance, Interest may not unpossibly lead him out of the way in other things: For though an Infallibility should be granted him, in what relates to the Church, 'tis more than the Cardinals themselves will admit in what is purely civil. It being none of the Articles of our Creed, that Christ was an earthly Prince, or had any other Sovereignty over Kings, but as God over all. Yet since this misled People, received no Advantage of their Errors, as some more hypocritical Schismatics may be imagined to do, it cannot but raise Pity in you towards them, and Charity to your self, in case Fortune should cast you in any Region under the Pope's Jurisdiction: who owning a temporal Power no less than a spiritual, may not unpossibly punish in more Prudence than you can suffer. Wherefore, leaving behind you all Obstinacy and Prejudice. consider whether the Sign of the Cross may not with more Piety be ad-

mitted, than Baptism wholly neglected, or the Bread in the Sacrament only taken, rather than that Seal of our Covenant quite omitted. Yet I desire you to look upon all that is here said under the Notion of an Advice, not a Command.

55. I hold in Charity no less than Commerce with all sorts of People, that do acknowledge a divine and universal Providence: But abominate those that have the Impudence, no less than the Indiscretion to deny it, openly in their Words, or tacitly in their Actions; as such cannot but be thought to do, that destroy others under a Pretence of Sanctity, meerly to enrich themselves; who deny God no less in his Justice, than the other in his Power. Since without a Creator, Man must be the Product of a Contingency, together with all things extant, if not the Maker of himself; or, which is as prodigious an Absurdity, nothing, out of its own Strength, must have produced all things. Nor could so many descend into this low and damnable Error, were they not led by that common Calculation incident to the Creature, through which each in its respective Gradation, is rendred out of Ignorance unable, or out of Pride-unwilling, to find a sublimer Excellency than his own. The cause, not only that the Vertues but the Gods themselves were by the Heathen represented in human Shapes, and their Inclinations confined to the same Sins and Passions Mortals are found Subject to. It exceeding the largest Extent in Nature to comprehend a higher Wisdom than its own, or to assign it a more honourable Aspect, or furnish it with richer Indowments, than her Senses and Experience hath adorned Fancy withal. The Devil being painted as white amongst the *Negroes*, as he is black here. Wherefore Knowledge being at a non plus (a thing
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she doth naturally abhor) many, because they cannot decipher a Reason, why Providence in this World appears so oft in the Favour (to our seeming) of wicked and unjust Designs, and so far discourages the good, as to leave them in the Hands of their Oppressors, they, like inconsiderate Sea-men, do cut the Cable of Hope, and forsaking the Anchor of Providence, resign the Conduct of all things to Fortune, who is yet so constant in her Vicissitudes (familiar to Gamesters) that in a small time she doth not only take away, but returns to every Man his Money again. And if the World hath, for ought we know to the contrary, been till this Age ignorant in the Circulation of the Blood, though the principal Engine of Life, and such a necessary one, as every Creature moves not without, why should we rob our selves of the Comfort, and God of the Honour of managing whatsoever happens, though yet ignorant of the Manner and Reason of his doing it, which hereafter we shall see revealed: the Age of Man being too short to discover every Spoke in this Wheel, that may within a Span or two be twisting the Destruction of those that are now at the Top. Nor can any Man guess how another fares by an outward Aspect taken from his Moveables, but must sleep with him and enter his Bosom, which God doth ; and can no doubt by slackening of Grief in one, and winding up Fears and Jealousies in another, make the World even. It being the Spring and intrinsick part of the Watch that the Workman looks after, and not the Case, though it may possibly be Gold, or some richer Materials, which the Rabble do usually cast their Eyes upon, as Children do on the Lord Mayor's Pageants ; admiring the Splendor of those that ride in them, who considered in their own Nature are but mean Men's Issue, and thus adorned at

the City Cost : yet their external Varnish doth so obstruct the Organs of Sense, as they do not perceive the Poorness of the People that bear them up, no more than how long they may be able, or sound, willing to do it. And if Men cannot, by a serious Reflection upon their own Affairs, distinguish the Operations of Providence from those of Contingency ; yet since it is the most universal Opinion, and for ought ever I could hear objected to the contrary, the least obstructed from Reason or Consent, that every Creature holds its Production, no less than Preservation, at the Will of an Omnipotency, by us stiled God ; though the Ways how he operate be beyond our Fathom, and past finding out, why should not Credulity rest at the Brink of this Abyss (by all acknowledged the least dangerous) rather than hazard all Hope of future Beatitude, in the uncomfortable Gulf of a wretchless Atheism. There remaining as little visible Loss to such as award all Honour to our Maker, as Gain for those that deny him quite. Nor are we bereaved totally of the Shadow of Omniscency ; since from a far lower Situation than Heaven, we are able at one Glance to over-look a whole City, and by a single Trumpet to alarm an Army. Yet our Senses are capable to receive no small Augmentation from the Assistance of Art : an infallible Argument that the Perfection of these Qualities doth not determine in the Person of any Creature ; but something paramount all that hath yet risen within the Compass of our Experience, it being impossible but a superlative Perfection should rest some where. Nor can we be competent Judges of the Motions of God that have nothing to measure by but Sense, much too weak to discern the Motion of a Shadow, or the Growth of a Plant, till Time hath rendred them apparent : wherefore.

wherefore far unable to comprehend the Lines of Providence, imperceptible to every Intelligence but his who hath the sole Disposure of all things. It not being probable Man should comprehend the Out-goings of God, whilst he is not able to give any Reason for his own.

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MISCELLANY

OF SUNDRY

ESSAYS, PARADOXES,

AND

Problematical Discourses,
LETTERS and CHA-
RACTERS.

By FRANCIS OSBORN, Esq;

A

B

MISCELLANY

OF SUNDRY

ESSAYS, PARADOXES,

AND



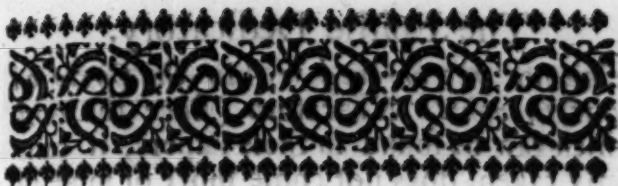
PROBLEMATIC DISCOURSES,

LETTERS AND CHA-

RACTERS.

By FRANCIS OSBORN, Esq;

B



To my Vertuous,
No less than in all things else
Deserving NIECE,
Mrs. Elizabeth Draper.

Dear NIECE,

IT is on all hands confess, that some things here, may be thought as *unsuitable* to my *Years*, as your *Education*, (not yet removed from a *vertuous Mother*,) by those who are not acquainted with the *external Impulse* which makes their *Publication* to the World unavoidably *Necessary*, in reference to the preventing a *false Impression*; no less than that more *Inward* of *natural affection* to you (not knowing but this may be my last opportunity) to do right to *Gratitude*. So as if any *expression here* should be of force to *make you blush*, it would by *augmenting* your *Beauty* prove a *good Effect* of a Cause at the worst but *respectively Evil*; and only in reference to such a *superlative goodness* as you are endowed withal: whose *apprehension* of *Ill* results rather from *Admonition* and *Prudence*, than *Experience* or *Consent*. Faults already become in many ripe for punishment,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

being not yet arrived within the Circle of your thoughts. Wherefore (since the worst which can be found in these Papers, if candidly taken, does not come short of some of the best that are daily made vendible,) I desire you to Veil your Judgment with Charity; known in remoter Relations so extensive as to cover more Levity than I hope is extant here: Or if blinded by Interest, I should mistake no less in its own desert, than the acceptance of the World, it cannot disparage your Name long; which no doubt will suddenly be changed, and you left free, either to own or reject what is here presented: unless God for the punishment of the present Age will make men unwilling, because unworthy to approach so much Vertue, and other excellencies as are natural in you; the repetition of which would not only call up the blood into your face, but confound mine, were I guilty of half the infidelity in your Sex, that ignorance, folly and malice hath voted to my share: who am so zealous through the mediation of your perfections in the vindication of Women, that I am not only ready to become a Convert, but a Martyr, rather than appear any thing but, Dear Niece,

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Your Servant

Lond. 1659.

FR. OSBORN.

T O



TO THE
R E A D E R.

REaders in the generality do not study (especially in reference to Contemporaries) what may benefit themselves, but blemish the present Author's repute. So as the Pillars of Fame and Protection, that led our Fathers through the dark Wilderness of Ignorance, into the glorious Land of the Living (where they still inhabit, though under no more authentick Charter than that of Prescription, being in all other Evidences of Worth matched, if not exceeded by younger Men :) are clouded through Reproaches, and forced to correspond for the Integrity of every Line by Truths most Capital Enemies, Hypocrisy, Superstition and Folly: And before such partial and weak Tribunals as are suborned no less than guided by Interest, and an awful reverence towards the most deformed Antiquity; from whence
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To the Reader.

the Pen (accounted by *Cæsar* a decent Companion for the Scepter) is now become the Bubble of the Rabble: Forgetting that though it may be so in the Management of Fools, yet that no virtuous Acts can be registred, or Learning maintained but through her Mediation: Nor is the progress of conjectural Propositions to be obstructed, but rather indulged in reference to the Credit of a Nation. The first Idea often owning the Glory of the whole Design; manifest in *Germany*, that may not unpossibly stand more obliged for her rare Inventions to the Liberty she gives, and an Indulgence the Inhabitants have for any Novelty, though too weak to extend probability beyond the fantasy of the first Projector; than any natural fertility inherent in the Place, appears in the Perfection they receive from politer Regions; being themselves so far from casting Dirt or Ink in the Face of the Party, that in the least Case of likelihood they do all lend assistance: contrary to the baser Practice of *England*; where if a Spirit be found so prevalent in Reason as to be Proof against any Reply, it is usual for the Opposers of Knowledge to impute their Revenge from some weak Administrator of the Power of Ignorance.

Sir

To the Reader.

Sir WALTER RALEIGH was the first (as I have heard) that ventured to tack about, and sail aloof from the beaten track of the *Schools*: who upon the Discovery of so apparent an *Error* as a *Torrid Zone*, intended to proceed in an Inquisition after more solid Truths: Till the Mediation of some whose Livelihood lay in hammering *Shrines* for this superannuated *Study*, possessed Queen *Elizabeth*, that such Doctrine was against God no less than her Father's Honour, whose Faith (if he owed any) was grounded upon *School-Divinity*. Whereupon she chid him: who was (by his own Confession) ever after branded with the title of an Atheist, though a known Asserter of God and Providence.

A like Censure fell to the share of Venerable BACON, till over-balanced by a greater weight of Glory from Strangers: Nor could Desert and the Name of the *English Jewel*, given SELDEN beyond Sea, free him from a like imputation at Home, wherefore *Bramhall*, *Camden*, *Digby*, *Hobbes*, *Hackluit*, *Higmore*, *St. Tachè*, and a number more that have imbellished this Doating Age with new Notions, may apprehend Comfort from this Contemplation, that Fame is no less Eternal than Detraction is Mortal. Though it may be thought strange why any farther Prosecution of
Truth

To the Reader.

Truth should be persecuted amongst Men not yet fully resolved what it is: when nothing redounded more to the Protestant's Honour, than the free passage they have always given to Books of Controversies, whereas the reading of them is a mortal Sin in *Rome*, and at best, liable to the Inquisition: not to be imputed to any thing but the invincible Reason we have on our side, so well managed by Mr. *Chillingworth*, as the fluent Mouths of the Jesuits were stopped till his Death, and some time after. There being nothing but Mathematical Demonstrations able to drive them from the ambiguous Interpretations they put both upon Scripture and Fathers, behind which the Papacy hath for many Centuries played at Bo-peep with State and Church. And yet how this poor Man was abused at his Death, is more for the Nations Credit to conceal than publish. Neither is this frenzy capable of any real Reformation, since those that pretend to a power of garbling things brought to the Press, are not all of one and the same Judgment: and from whose Divisions, new Books run the Fortune of the middle-aged-man in the Fable, that became bald, by an endeavour to gratify the Humours of Persons inconsiderable for weight or number. I know Cen-
sures

To the Reader.

asures do not all fall within the Circuit of one Meridian, yet am as certain, that no Dispute can be maintained, but where half, if not the most curious part, is supported by Conjecture. And that our best Physical Conclusions have been deduced out of meer Mistakes: which the World (though never so long lived) is not likely to want, and therefore improbably proclaimed at her farthest extent of Knowledge: which if true, few would give, or increase the Stipends of Arts; it being incongruous to expect new Honour from those who confess themselves not able to augment their own, and so far diffident of an Ability to match the Ancients, as they take the endeavour not only for impossible, but a high if not a damnable Presumption. Wherefore it suits University Interest to indulge such as bring fresh Notions to their Mill, though smutted with some Errors: It being usual for Wages to cease, and an Engin to be neglected, upon the first Discovery that the work is finished: Not to be denied to follow an opposing what is already arrived to a general Acceptance; especially in an Age when God and the Magistrate lies blasphemed on every Stall. Nor is the knavery of obscure *Stationers* a small *Remora* to Desert: that in envy to those of their
own

To the Reader.

own Trade, and to debauch the esteem of Books, do encourage, if not hire, foul-mouthed Balladmakers to Ruffle, Dogscar, and contaminate by base Language and spurious Censures the choicest Leaves. Yet the Blasphemers against the Spirit of Knowledge become vendible in reference to their Names they pretend in their Title-Page to confute, sometime the Trade of *Alexander Ross*, who used to skirmish (though only armed with a blunt Quill, and a duller Reason) the Worthies of our Nation by Troops. Nor is it probable any farther Attempt upon our *English* Affairs should be purchased cheaper than at the Writers Prejudice; since so honest an Endeavour as the proving, it was the Father that eat the sower Grapes, and not the Son, whose Teeth were set an edge, is by some so far perverted. Now in reference to this, or any thing else that may relate to me, If my Years and Infirmities that stand ready at the Gate to hurry me out of this World, nor the many Lines I have drawn suitable to the general Fantasies, with a Protestation never to trespass again upon Love or History, cannot shrowd me from the pelting of Tongues; let me humbly implore this favour of both *Sexes*, that such as do it, would imitate the Candor of a Carnival, wherein

To the Reader.

wherein (though all *Italy* appear but one entire *Bedlam*;) nothing is thrown but what savours more of Musk than Malice. But if I am born to be aspersed, I could wish it might be with such Ink as may at least beautify the Writer, and not contaminate us both; it being an Injury, though far below the *Sufferer's* Revenge, to be pinched between the nasty Finger and Thumb of a brawny Ignorance. Which heightens greatly the Obligation to him that for my sake undertook so unworthy an Antagonist: Whose want of a true Knowledge of me hath led him into as great an Excess in reference to my Commendations, as the like defect may not possibly have exposed me to a censure of ungratitude, or made me (as verily I believe I am) too sparing in his: A Fault I promise to amend upon the least intimation of an Occasion.

Now being compelled to own what follows, or to venture the having it laid at my Door, with all the Imperfections so many adulterated Transcriptions have deformed it with; I thought it less dishonourable to trespass upon Gravity (a Defect in Nature, or at best but a Ceremony resulting from the Morosity of Age) than to offer violence to Prudence, the most signal Advantage deducible from time;) by

To the Reader.

by denying my Hand to the Emendation of a subreptitious Copy, which I verily believe my Youth (though foolish enough) was not in probability likely to have been guilty of, yet must have had my Abilities now measured by it. For the sufficiency of which I shall not correspond, having been led through Necessity and other Perswasions, rather than my own, to think that though they are out of Fashion with me, they may become decent for others to follow or avoid. Being in every respect else a meer Patient, and no otherways active than at the Request, and for satisfying the *Stationer*, to whose Care I leave you, without any other Compliment, than that the Loss will not be great to the Buyer, nor the Shame much to me, should they prove Waste Paper, as I ever till now esteemed them. And in answer to those who shall think some Expressions here too serious to face such stuff as comes after, they may be pleased to know I did at first intend to insert some Notions which Discretion hath since thought inconvenient.



T H E



T H E
P R O E M.

IF, contrary to the Mode of such as lose their Thoughts in the open Air where they were conceived; I have, with more Diligence, registered Mine; it was out of no Opinion they deserve a longer life, but to prevent Idleness, with a Concourse of some more Tedious, if not Sinful: which in the Vacancy of Employment, are apt to intrude themselves, under pretence of a more ancient and familiar Acquaintance. Nor can I yet find cause to repent of the pains, since it hath confirmed me in this Truth; that the World is not the worse, nor my self much better, for Age and Continuance. From whence I have learned, (though I confess, none more apt to forget) not to complain of Governours for their Oppression, or upbraid Youth with its Vices: Since in the best Times Tyranny hath been moderated, rather through Fear than Goodness. As the most seemingly-Holy do, at the highest, but paliate, not divest their human Infirmary And from hence

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The PROEM.

we may be taught with St. Peter, not to call any thing Polluted or Defiled: All men at long-running meeting with the same Market, either in reference to their own depraved Will, or Performance. Wherefore I should conclude, (considering my own and others visible lapses) that Sanctity lies more in Repentance than Innocency. Which is the chief Advantage, if not all the difference discernable between those we term Wicked, and the Just. Now if any one (a thing I have formerly been very cheary of) shall read these Papers under the notion of Approbation, he can no more make me proud, than such as dispraise them, angry: (it being the guise of all to applaud those of their own Opinion:) Of which there is none more mine, than that every thing is of a mixed nature, carrying a Face like that in a pleated Picture, suitable to the situation and light the Beholder stands in, or is guided by.

And in reference to one over-severe, I may have this to say, that not a few now wiser than us both, have pleased themselves as much in drawing Anticks with a Coal upon a Wall, as others do in their endeavours to match Apelles. All I seek is to find employment for a Spirit that would break the Vessel, had it nothing to work upon but it Self. Nor is it less true, that I might justly be blamed for some things here, had more time been employed about them, than God in his mercy, or to punish my former negligence,
hath

The PROEM.

bath afforded me liberty to spare. Who can be accountable to Posterity for nothing in this kind: being from my Birth incapable to receive the rich Talent of Learning, looked upon as the only Key of Knowledge: which if obtained, had been little advantage, since I want a memory wherein to hoard up what I had stollen. And so the acquired Groat might not unpossibly have spoiled and adulterated the more natural Shilling. Wherefore if a Chymistry might be found, able to extract any thing useful towards the conduct of Man, out of such ordinary Simples as these, they were highly to be esteemed; and in likelihood more suitable to every Taste, as fresh gathered from the Tree of Experience, than those sophisticated by the Schools, or of a narrower Interest, than that of the whole Society of Man.

And if any draw benefit from these, they are most likely to be Friends; it being only the property of Love, to look upon that with delight, which cannot be discovered to another without shame. And to such I could be content to leave them, as the Idea of a Mind was no less cordially employed, in advancing the Good of others, than of my Patience in receiving injuries from the same hands. This is not said to wound Providence under the shadow of Fortune. Since I have hitherto not only been blest, beyond my Desert, but Expectation; and have seen my unnatural Oppressors perish and languish, through as miraculous means, as I have been preserved:

The PROEM.

ved: and by which I am brought to the contemplation of higher and more permanent Pleasures, than the poor and despicable consideration of Profit is able to reach. Nor could any contrary Endeavour of mine, hide this from the Eyes of the World, to whose Judgment, I was for a long time not so impudent, or imprudent, as to present more of my Self than I must needs; because Experience still finds her in the Arms of Curiosity and Prejudice: Into whose Den, though I have been of late cast, (by what hand of Fate I know not, and so as it were blind-fold;) yet I have come off with more Favour, from before this Tyrannical Tribunal than divers known of far greater Desert.

Nor should I but for a thorough Essay of my own Fortune, and the Reader's Candor, venture such Stuff as is likely to follow; which though produced long since, I am not able to better now; and if capable of Acceptance, the World is not likely to want it.

But it is contrary to my own Aphorism to debase what I present, by saying it was writ before I was Twenty: From whence would result such an easy Inference, that surely I am no Wiser now, (which I wish heartily I were able to confute) else I should mend, or conceal them. Nor can I think it Wisdom or Convenience to say, they were produced in a shorter space than Nature requires in the production of Rarities, though not seldom casual; (as I observed in a Flint presented to King Charles, that bore the perfect Figure

The PROEM.

Figure of a Man,) it being the Custom of some heads, to afford the greater Reason, the less they are pumped. Such as is clearest, running commonly quickest, and most fluent; whereas the Deeper requires straining, and so becomes heavier, and of a less sprightly taste. I will not say mine is of that temper, to avoid prejudice: nothing being held in esteem, is easily come by. Wherefore having found so many condemned upon the evidence they bring against themselves in Print, I have laboured to conceal my name; esteeming it more pleasant (if not more natural) to Beget than Father. But finding it as impossible to hide, as it is unsuitable to my present condition to be idle, and no less than unbecoming Civility, to neglect the Importunity of such Friends, as desire a Publication of this Piece, (which being a mixture of all things, may not improbably, like the huge Dishes now in fashion, feast the Appetites of some one or other) I shall once again venture into the Press, (as too many do) more out of Confidence than Wit. Yet let my defects be what they will, I have ever considered it is a flatulent impertinency, to Court the Reader; or think to raise a Party, in the behalf of any thing that wears not the indubitable Character of Reason and Truth. Against which, Ignorance and Hypocrisy have maintained so long and unnatural a Rebellion, as Security is no other way attainable, but by Silence, or Compliance. The continual Wrestlings against a Rational Evidence,

The PROEM.

having brought the World into so mutilated and unsteady a Creed, as in many places she is observed to halt between the uneasy ways of Hope and Fear. The Contemplation of which, doth so stagger such as delight in painting their Opinions upon Paper, that they know not what side to take, out of a dread to fall under the notion of Traitors, or Malignants, Atheists, or Fools. And amongst others, this may pass for a Cause, why these (formerly looked upon as waste) Sheets, have received this Resurrection out of the Dust; it being in ill Times, safer to appear wanton than serious. Or like Brutus, a Fool than a Censor. Of what is in me I make as good use as I can, but hate to borrow any thing; being more willing to appear with all my defects about me, than glorious and splendid through the spoils of others. Under the same odium (in my conceit) lies a supercilious gravity, by which I should interrupt all Commerce with those of my own Coat, and expose my Self to the Judgment of some more wise, who cannot but see through that unnatural Veil, the poorness of the Trash is carried under it: there being really no nakedness, but in relation to others, since all have the Patience to look upon their own Imperfections without blushing. Which the oftner it is done, the better may be learned how to prize others, and value our selves. There appearing no way readier to demonstrate to a Man his particular weakness, than by admitting him full
leave

The PROEM.

leave to try his strength. Wherefore so long as no body saw me, I was not capable of blame, if wanting the Engines of Learning, I endeavoured to shake the Pillars of the Schools. For though the attempt is not very likely to afford any benefit to others; yet I cannot but remain the stronger for it, and the more agile my self: As such do that swing though the Beamstirs not at which they tug; it being natural to honest Labour, still to be followed by Wisdom or Reward. For, though the generality of Readers are scandalized at all that is not mouldy through Age, or gilded with Novelty; yet I remember to have heard from Sir William Cornwallis, (esteemed none of the meanest Wits in his Time) that Montaign's Essays was the likeliest Book to advance Wisdom: because, the Author's own Experiences, is the chiefest Argument in it. For, as St. Augustine saith of short and holy Ejaculations, that they pierce Heaven as soon, if not quicker, than more tedious Prayers: So I have reaped greater benefit from concise and casual Meditations on several Topicks, than long and voluminous Treatises, relating meerly to one and the same thing; many Scholars being of so vast an extension in the prosecution of any, (though but a seeming) Errour, as they will leave no Argument un-urged, be it never so weak. Forgetting that a Triumph is easier obtained, than a Victory so discreetly moderated, as may give no occasion to think it either tedious, or over-severe: it being a

The PROEM.

work impertinently superfluous, to give Two Blows where One may suffice. This is the cause that only such are esteemed, who bring the strongest Reasons, and commit the smallest waste upon the Reader's time, or the Adversary's repute. Nor are any to be commended as Civil or Wise, that prosecute a contrary Practice; too frequent amongst us, where the abuse of the Person is clinched and riveted so close with the confutation, as unquestioned Charity is not seldom lost, in the vindication of a more dubious Truth. And from hence I have taken occasion to calculate the Meridian of such hot heads, as can suffer no Opinions but their own to stand quietly by them: forgetting there is as much variety in the dissemblances of Men's minds, as Experience and Commerce do observe in their bodies. Which may conclude it as great folly to condemn one of a contrary Judgment, as to implead another, because his Nose is shorter or longer than theirs. Nor is it in the reach of any thing but Restraint, to make People unanimous. No less against the freedom of Nature, than it is suitable to Custom and Experience, to find the contrary in Practice, where all are left to their own Election. As manifest, in wise Greece and Rome, as in those Nations, esteemed both by them and us more barbarous. Nor can it but be reckoned amongst the Causes of the Catholick's Unity, that every one may address their Prayers to what Saint they please. — Now to vindicate my self from their folly,
who

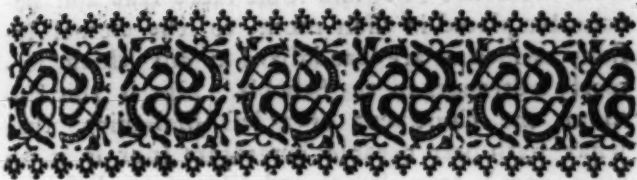
The PROEM.

who esteem the foulest of their Writings a fit Copy for the World, whose heads ake like Jupiter's, till delivered of those Pallas's: though so flat and deformed, as if conceived in their Thumbs.

I may safely say, that heretofore, (however it is with me now, grown perhaps through Custom more impudent) I was not ambitious to appear in publick, since some of my acquaintance can attest, that divers Pieces, of late published, were long ago as compleat, as ever I have been able to make them since: the first cause of their projection, being rather for the intent to divert my self, than to busy others. Nor shall I prosecute this Trade, longer than it continues acceptable to the Generality, and beneficial to the Stationer: whose operation hath been more effectual in this Midwifery, than any delight I can take in finding my self rated according to the value of every Judgment: commonly forestalled by Opinion, a far nearer Friend to things of this Nature, than the highest Desert.

At the Foot of whose Tribunal I should never have fallen, but to redeem the World out of a Common Error, by shewing men are not so unhappy in the absence of Learning, as Scholars, pretend. ——— Whose first Question is, What Univerſity are you of? And their last, if answered, None: For then they consider the Party as Irrational, and below Conversation: Forgetting, that though Books may produce a few rough Materials; it is only in the power of Experience and Natural Parts to build up and burnish a Perfect Man.

7 DE 61



ESSAY I.

On such as condemn All they understand not a REASON for.



Heir Presumption is no less uncivil than prodigious; that having nothing else to warrant them but a pettish and solitary Opinion of their own, will undertake to arraign the truth of all they cannot apprehend, or is not quite arrived within the perfect cognizance of their Reason. And by this impudence do not only proclaim themselves Judges of the present Understandings; but present the scanty Measure of their own, as an unquestionable Standard, for all may succeed: Forgetting to what base Offices they have put such Conceits and Results to, upon a more serious Consideration; which at their first Conception they esteemed Authentick and not misbecoming the Cabinet of a Prince. And if thus capable of Deceit from themselves; What security are they able to give for the spurious Censures they pass upon others, that one Day they shall not be taken off from

from Wisdom's File, and some more true and honourable placed in their room, to the eternal Infamy of such as are scandalized at any thing, formerly a Stranger in the Schools. Nor is this Humour the Continent of a less Malignity, than what hath been capable heretofore (nor is it less busy now) to obstruct and discourage all farther prosecution after Knowledge, by branding Reason with an Imputation of Atheism: and hanging what they understand not, under the notion of Witchcraft, as *Foster* a Country Parson did the Weapon-Salve: * Against which he conjured up not only the Fathers, Schoolmen, &c. but (so far as his weak Talent could extend) did stubborn Philosophy to attest against her self. Nor had this mad Duel between him and Dr. *Lloyd*, (who being both of no great strength, did weaken the Nation's repute abroad) been parted, but that Authority (to vindicate the usual Cure of the King's Evil from being an Operation of the Devil) did step in betwixt them. The first gaining the Opinion of as high an impudence for Beginning, as the other did of Folly, for maintaining so impertinent a Quarrel.

It was the custom of King *James* (and no question, of no small improvement to his understanding) to discourse during Meals with the Chaplain that said Grace, (or other Divines) concerning some point of Controversy in Philosophy. And falling one day upon Atheism, he did by undeniable Arguments maintain, No Man could be found so irrational, as to deny a first Cause: (which could be no other than that Power we call God.)

* See, An Account of the *Weapon-Salve*, in the *Golden Remains* of the ever Memorable Mr. *John Hales* of Eton, 8vo. pag. 355.

And therefore no such thing in Nature as an Atheist.

What his Judgment was of Witchcraft, you may in part find by his Treatise on that Subject, and Charge he gave the Judges, to be circumspect in condemning those, committed by ignorant Justices, for Diabolical Compacts. Nor had he concluded his Advice in a narrower Circle (as I have heard) than the denial of any such Operations, but out of Reason of State: and to gratify the Church, which hath in no Age, thought fit to explode out of the Common Peoples Minds, an Apprehension of Witchcraft. The greatest Miracles now extant, making their Apparitions, in the dark Corners of this clouded Imagination. Into whose Cause I shall not presume further to peep, as esteeming it more dangerous than terrible. Yet for the better Vindication of such Innocents, as are daily observed, to pass out of this Back-gate of Injustice to another World, (whose Posterns are the Ignorance of Judges, and Folly of our Laws) I will here relate a Story of my own Knowledge; which if too weak to refel this common Error, cannot be divested of strength enough to perswade more Discretion and Charity, than is ordinarily employed in the Trial of such poor Creatures, that are first made mad, as *Solomon* saith, through Poverty and Affliction; and after hanged for being no better advised than to confess what they never did, or any Flesh and Blood was ever able to do.

Sir *Humphrey Winch*, (none of the least honest and conscientious Itinerant Judges of his Time,) was in the Northern Circuit presented with the Evidence against three silly Women, that they had out of propence Malice, not only bewitched divers Cattle and Children to Death: But the principal cause of their Commitment, arose from the Son of a Gentleman that was supposed to have laid di-

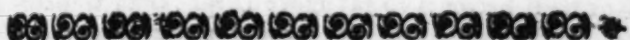
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vers Months under their Fascination ; who at certain Times would contract his whole Body within a Joynt Stool, and write in *Hebrew* and *Greek* Characters, though not known to be skilled in those Tongues ; that a Spirit came then into him, sent by these poor Wretches, by which he was so tormented, as he did in his Fits foam at the Mouth. Nor was there a greater and more probable Evidence wanting ; For that Night the Judges entered the Town, one of the Witches did privately desire the Jaylor to bring her into a Room by herself, where without any Compulsion, (a thing not omitted by our Witch-finders) she told him she used a Familiar, together with the rest ; and that they had joyned to bewitch the said Boy : but did humbly beseech him her Fellows might not know it, nor she be returned to the same Lodging, for fear they should torment her ; and within a few Hours died. Now upon the Keeper's Evidence, and others of like Nature, the Two were found Guilty, and condemned to be hanged. But under this Proviso. that in case they continued obstinate in the denial of the Fact, the Sheriff should remand them back, where they were to live till the Progress, which was to be Northward that Summer. The King being gratified by nothing more than an Opportunity to shew his Dexterity in discovering an Imposture, (at which, I must confess him the promptest Man Living) upon his arrival convented the Boy. Where, before him, (possibly daunted at his Presence, or terrified by his Words) he began to falter, so as the King discovered a Fallacy, And did for a further Confirmation, send him to *Lambeth* ; where the Servants of *Dr. George Abbot* *, did in a few Weeks, discover the whole Deceit. And he was sent back to his Majesty before the

* Archbishop of Canterbury.

end of the Progress ; where, upon a small entreaty, he would repeat all his Tricks often times in a Day. Nor did he do and suffer all this for a more serious Cause, than to prevent a present whipping, and avoid going to School. Amongst other Pranks he lived in an Orchard, a Week upon Apples only.

I shall make no Paraphrase, nor pursue the Argument further ; to avoid Prolixity no less than Offence. The Doctrine of such Impostors, being a *Diana*, out of which no small Profit is made, and Credit is purchased in reference to Opinions, otherwise ridiculous and untenable.



E S S A Y II.

On P R O V. viii. 30.

Give me neither Poverty nor Riches.

FROM this wise King's Prayer, we may learn the Danger that resides in these Two Gulphs, Poverty and Riches. The latter alluring no less to Pride than the first Tempts, if not compels towards Atheism and Infidelity. Both gathering strength and aggravation from the Complexion and Education of the Patient ; So as if abundance proves the Lot of a mean Birth ; and Want, the Companion of one bred in plenty and Eminency ; it elevates the first as far above the Sphere of Moderation, as it dejects the other below the Centre of

of Patience : Pride despising God's Power, no less than Poverty disturbs it. For as a perfect and harmonious Joy comes nearest to that Pleasure and Content assured us in Heaven : So Anxiety and Discontent are a representation of Hell. Melancholly being the worst of Humours, because the Devil's ; (if he may be thought to participate of any) who apprehends all ill about him, and cannot but despair of better. Wherefore Poverty must be allowed the most dangerous Condition, because infested with all those prodigious Effects, this Diabolical Passion is liable to produce. Which are, in a manner, all we do in this World, either punish or admire ; Sin being a result of Want ; from whence it becomes so far more Illegal than Unnatural, as *St. Paul* owns the Law for the most manifest Original, and exactest measure of his Prevarications.

I know abundance, hath been by Good-men, prized below Want, when offered to be made the Wages of Iniquity ; though none besides our Saviour, was ever found able to grapple with the Enemy of Mankind, being hungry and in want, as he was in the Wilderness. Which remains none of the weakest Effects left us of his Divinity ; and rather inserted as a Mark of his own Power, than an Example for our Imitation. Yet such Monastical Persons as endeavour to come nearest to it, have enough to satisfy, though possibly, not to pamper Nature. The Name of *Voluntary hope of Merit*, and the worldly respect it brings, bearing most of the Charges belonging to it. Nor have they Wives and Children, which looked through, or like Opticks, multiply the Bulk of Want.

When others (not wilfully) sick of this loathsome Plague, as if it were Infectious, are not only forsaken of all, but exposed to the Tyranny of every Hand desires to oppress them. Law it self,

(a Friend to all else) being so heavy an Enemy to the poor Beggar, as it seeks to discharge the *Common-wealth* of them, with no less Industry than the Physician doth the Body of Man, from Humours putrid and noxious to its Health. I know some make a Trade of Want; and by it are able to live, not only Idly, but in an unbridled Luxury; whereas those here meant, who consume their Bodies by Labour, or which is more painful, in the Study of the Mind; yet cannot obtain so much as to purchase Bread sufficient to stop the Mouths of their Family from barking at Heaven, and tearing God under the Veil of Fortune, for pouring upon others without limitation, what is denied to them in the meanest Proportion. Indeed the antient Stoicks, no less than the more Modern Divines have, and do still continue their Endeavours to vindicate this unequal Distribution from the Tincture of Partiality; but have in my Mind, left it more ambiguous. Only our Saviour in his Answer penned for *Dives*, seems (no less than in other Places of his Gospel) to assign Heaven, meerly for an Inheritance, to such as Want here; and Hell for those that Abound: As he that makes the Words, cannot but imagine, nor dare I apply the Figure of Hyperbole to any Saying of his. Which exactly weighed, is but a *Salvo* for a Mistake, an indefinite Number or Quantity, suiting better the Mouth of an Ignorant Man, than the immense Knowledge of our Blessed Redeemer. Wherefore (under the Correction of a more perfect Light) I think the Simile of a Camel, (or Cabel) and the Eye of a Needle justly and Mathematically proportioned to the Salvation of a Rich Man, who is incapable of it, without a more miraculous Extension of the Mercy of our Maker, than is by himself best known to suffice such, as in this World have not enjoyed so much Plenty.

And

And that an Observation of the Law is not enough, seems to appear, by Christ's bidding him that had done it, to *sell all that he had*, &c. as the thing most acceptable to God.

Wherefore I could wish, that this Tithing the Mint and Cummin of others Errours and Opinions, were not so nicely performed, and *charity* with her *Concomitant Probity* (the whole Performance of the Commandments) so quite neglected. Which no doubt, is the great Occasion of so much Indigence, as may be observed now; and so contrary to that in Christ's Time, as it rather hinders than facilitates the Ways to Heaven; so as it appears, that the Devil himself had never experimented so much Power in any Person, as was able to resist the Temptation of Misery and Want, till he met with *Job*. Which gave him the boldness to wager (as it were) with God, that in case he removed the Hedge his Love had placed about him, he would curse him to his Face.

Wherefore, it cannot be esteemed a slight Provocation, was the Greatest, Man's Enemy could invent. Had he only touched his Health, the means of Recovery might have remained: But his Livelihood being lost, nothing continued but lean Patience; far too weak wholly to ward this Blow, though it may dissemble the taking it, or cover the Wound for a Season.

It is no less wholesom than decent to travel on Foot with a Horse in thy Hand; but to the Destitute of a like ease, tedious. Wherefore *Seneca* may make Demonstration of Wit, and prescribe Rules for the more quiet enduring of Penury, but deserves the less Credit, because writ at a time when himself had occasion to use more Moderation than Patience; which makes me believe his Mind (together with the rest of the Puritanical Stoicks) was far averse from their Doctrine; since a decent frugality

gality out of the Society of a more sordid Coverousness, could not have accumulated so immense a Treasure as *Tacitus* reports was found about him. Yet concludes his Documents, with a peremptory Advice, rather to die, than abide in so little ease as this, and far less intolerable earthly Inconveniencies are observed to bring with them. Which indeed were more to the purpose, could Christianity make use of this his last Receipt: who is prescribed by her Institutes to Tide it out, although the Stream of its Inconveniencies runs never so strong against the Nature of Man. So as if God had set any lower Precipice, at the bottom of the Leap, than eternal Damnation, I think none so pusillanimous, as would not rather once take it, than to remain still under the Weight of so heavy and unsociable a Calamity, that produceth all things Hurtful or Hateful to Nature. For when God Mans-out his Hosts, the Poor are found in the Forlorn Hope; and Famine takes up her Headquarters under their Roof. Nor doth the Pestilence find a more convenient Place to hatch her Malignities in, than the Bosom of the Indigent. And when the Sword is so noble as to spare him, it is not so much out of Mercy as Contempt. He being in this only Happy, that his Condition is not in a Capacity to become Worse, no more than in any great Probability of Amendment; since in a general Felicity, he only is unhappy. Because Want renders her Owners incapable of Trust, by creating Suspicion before any Fault is committed: For where Necessity abounds, there Theft and Deceit are supposed, as an infallible consequence. When a Felony or Murther is committed, the next Poor Houses are ordinarily searched. Where the Less is found of their own, the greater Suspicion is conceived of what belongs to others. And so loathsome is a Beggar esteemed, as he that is so charitable.

ritable as to make him drink, is yet uncivil to-
 wards him, as to shut the Door, and wash the Cup
 after him; as if it were impossible for a Person in
 want, either to be true or wholsom. Being shun-
 ned of the Herd, as one struck by the severest Ar-
 row of his Maker's Vengeance, and left nothing to
 accompany him but Misery.---Yet none may pos-
 sibly apprehend him so wretched as he thinks him-
 self: Being for the most part, deprived not only of
 terrestrial, but future Comforts. For, if consci-
 ous of ill, (as what Means hath he of living by, or
 doing any thing else but Evil?) through Death
 (the only way to lead him out of his transitory
 Misery) he apprehends one prepared for him that
 is eternal. The indigent Person, like the flying
 Fish, being not only persecuted in his own Ele-
 ment, by those more mighty; But upon leaving it,
 falls into their terrible Claws, to whom is assigned
 the Dominion of the Air. This Cross having
 wrought so strongly with some Complexions, as to
 purge away all Belief of Providence, and revive that
 old damnable Opinion of a double Nature in God.
 Now though our blessed Saviour is not found above
 twice to sustain his Followers a miraculous Way,
 and that in the Defart, where Nature failed; yet,
 by making the Rich to divide with the Poor, he
 supplied that Defect this uneven Distribution occa-
 sions in the World. And that no small Strefs of
 Christian Wisdom lay in it, may seem to appear
 in the severer Punishment inflicted by St. Peter
 (in many places stiled the Prince of the Apostles)
 upon *Ananias* and *Saphira*, than ever was observed
 to attend such, as whipped, stoned and persecuted
 Christ; not only in his own Person, but that of
 his Followers. Wherefore, if those thus set upon,
 do daily fall into Heterodox Opinions, or are, not
 seldom observed, to hang up their shield of Faith
 in the Temple o Despair; and convert the Study
 of

Humanity, that such as are too weak to apprehend Reason of State, will pry into the Causes of their Landlords Actions; or, that failing, raise Tumults amongst themselves by a too near Inspection and Revelation of the News of each others Mis-carriages. And this being the most universal Humour now, may render it more probable to have been the same that did accompany Man at the first: Nature remaining depraved, not eradicated. Wherefore this Prohibition was placed according to Prudence, upon that side our Parents were weakest on; and so more fit to receive a Caution. For, had God forbidden them Theft or Murther, they could not have apprehended his meaning: nothing but Will corrupted by Passion, being able to bring forth such uncouth Sins into Action, which having once fallen within the compass of Experience, they, by consequence, came within the notion of Knowledge, not being yet presented to their Imaginations but what was already arrived within the Circuit of their Senses. The first Man appearing to me, no better furnished with Knowledge than an Infant in his Primitive Innocency; but that his Organs being made Perfect, he was capable to apprehend all things, with the same Dexterity, his Senses were able to feed his Fancy: in which they might take so much Pleasure, (since nothing is more tasteful to humanity, than understanding) that to make this spring of Knowledge more fluent, he swallowed the Apple, the Fountain of his Infelicity; which instead of gratifying his Taste and Desire, depraved both. If he gave Names to the Creatures suitable to the sinful use was after to be made of them; he did not only prophesy their future Misery, but his own. And if foreseen, why did he not prevent it? wherefore the Fault must lie, either upon his Ignorance or Will. For till his Fall, he seems, to have as little need of the Elephant's

phant's Docility, or the Oxe's Industry, as it is improbable, but that they were both made for Employment: which had been quite lost, together with all the Trades, the Blessing [of *Increase and Multiply*] is sustained by, had not Adam fallen from his Original Integrity. This makes me wonder to find Eve willing, or at leisure to Chat and Gossip with the Serpent; the most remote in Symmetry, from her own glorious Form, if not in Nature, from her Temper and Complexion; especially having so much the more excellent and adapted Companion, as her Husband near her to converse with. Which might give Credit to their Opinion, that the Fall was long after the Transgression: but that the impossibility of her conceiving a contaminated Issue, whilst pure in themselves offers more than a probable Confutation. It not being likely they should forget, for any considerable time, to neglect one of their principal Errands which lay in performing the Blessing of Diffusing his Like: The most rational Cause such can produce, as attribute their Prevarication, to an excess in Concupiscence; through which the Tree growing in the midst of the Garden, became contaminated. But to bury this Conjecture, (no less than the Opinion of *Josephus*, "That the Serpent had, together with all "Creatures else, before the Fall, an articulate "Voice") in the more certain Relation of *Moses*; (though in nothing more concise and abstruse, than about the beginning; not unpossibly, that he might preserve Truth, at the least Prejudice to Tradition, in the Preservation of which, the People of God were extream, if not superstitiously tender.) I shall modestly propose, that if the Serpent was really active in the seducing of Man: (as may seem to apperr, by the Curse laid upon him no less diffusive, in reference to this World, than ours, it reaching the whole Species; observed at this Day,

to

to crawl upon the Ground) whether we may not infer, that this now despicable Creature, was the first that went about to infringe the Ordinance of God: since those that make the Serpent only instrumental to the Devil's Activity, borrow it from Conjecture not Reason, which was never observed to punish the Sword, but the Hand that did manage it to Destruction. Wherefore, if it was the Devil's Sin, nothing but the Serpent's Consent in making it self instrumental, could procure a Punishment; no more than to the Winds that through his Incitation, destroyed the Children of *Job*. Which put together, may crowd a Room for this *Conjecture*, that the Devil possessed the Serpent with Envy first, at so glorious a Creature as Man was; and after gained its consent to be instrumental in our Destruction, and so a *Co-Operator* with Satan, and a Fellow in his Sin. For if it be thought impossible the Serpent should do so ungrateful a Service to Human Nature upon its own Instigation, it appears as unreasonable, why it should bear all the Penalty, the Devil having augmented, if not begun his Rebellion against his Maker, by seeking to destroy, this his Handy-work.

These seeming *Contradictions*, together with the Appellation of an Evening and a Morning before the Luminaries (the only Dividers of Time) were made, might tempt *Philo the Jew*, to dress in the Life of *Moses*, the Story of the *Creation* in an Allegory or Fable: who standing nearest those Times, and in a better Light, may be thought by such as love to be sceptical, most probable. But since the Ancient and Apostolical Church (to whose Creed, so far as my darker Infidelity will give me leave, I shall submit my Judgment in all Humility) hath accommodated it to another Sense, I think it, as far from Prudence as Christianity to oppose, or in the least contradict it.

Though

Though apt to consent, that the lapsed Angels might entertain more Commerce upon Earth before the Promise of our Saviour, and whilst Man stood upon his own Legs, than after God had taken him into his Protection; as not thinking it meet to trust such Frailty with so potent an Enemy. Wherefore he confined the Devil into Holes and obscure Places, out of which, upon his own Instigation or Imitation of the Prophets of the Lord, he gave his ambiguous Oracles, till by the brighter Apparition of the Star of *Jacob*, they were struck as irrecoverably Dumb, as they were blind before: averred by *Plutarch* in his Morals in the Genius or Ghost of *Socrates*. And he that would find a Reason why our first Parents were ashamed of their Nakedness, must not seek it in the Nature they conveyed to us, where bashfulness is a result of Custom, but from the Contemplation of some Creature then in sight really, or seemingly more beautiful than themselves; there being no occasion for Shame, but in respect of a more transcendent Perfection. It remaining indubitable, that *Children* with us, and Men and Women amongst the *Indians*, (not to be denied the exactest Followers of the primitive Dictates of pure Nature,) are no more sensible of Shame, in relation to those Parts *Adam* and *Eve* are said to have covered, than the *Europeans* express, when found bare-faced. Blushing being a silent confession of a Fault, not to be found amongst the Works of God: nor any where, till the Law had stamped the Figures of Reward and Punishment upon such Human Actions as do advance or depress the general Felicity. Custom being so exact a Disposer of the Convenience, if not Consent of Mankind, as to make divers Wives in *Turkey* lie quietly under One and the same Covering. So as it requires more than an Ordinary Intelligence to distinguish between the

Free Government of Nature, and the Imperious Tyranny, if I may not call it Anarchy (for it is not in all Places alike) of Education. But lest I should appear rather a Disciple of *Plato* than *Moses*, I shall pass by the Rabbies, no less than the Modern Philosophers, that consume more time in hunting after the Original of the Disease, than the means to cure it, not to be found but in *Jesus Christ*. Yet, as I said before, since no Heart is empty of the Humour of *Curiosity*, the Beggar being as attentive in his Station to an improvement of Knowledge, as the Prince; It is not unlikely to have been the Primary and Central-Sin; from whence the Lines of all human Vanities are drawn, and to which they are fastned: For if our later Artists think it no ill Argument to prove the Basis of the Earth Magnetical, because the Loadstone is in all Climates found: Why may it not be concluded from as great a Diffusion, that a too Dilated desire of Inspection into Things, was Original Sin? since not only observable in *Solomon* himself, but in the Picture of the Fool he draws, who ran after Variety: Which is only New Knowledge of a Strange Woman. And if I am not deluded by those more learned, one Word in the Original is taken for Both. But to proceed: When *Eve* saw the Fruit she did covet; and *Concupiscence* is enough now to condemn us, though not then. The Text placing the Transgression in Eating, not Desiring: That remaining impossible to be prevented, all things till contaminated by Sin, being in so high a degree of Perfection, as they did enforce a Coveting in all who did behold them: "It
 " apperring too low a Sacrament of Duty in Man,
 " the Supreme Vice-gerent of the Almighty, to
 " have for a Testimony of Obedience, only ab-
 " stained from what was in it self but meerly in-
 2 differently Good.

It is not likely he covered his Nakedness with Leaves of the same Tree from whence he gathered his Destruction : As those imagine who suppose the *Indian Fig* to be the forbidden Fruit : For how should he dare to touch that a second time which had wounded him at first, quite through himself and his Posterity ? though confessed a perfect Representation of Guilt. One Root being so Diffusive, as by a Gum that distils from the Boughs, to dilate it self into the vast Shade of a Desert, sufficient to cover an Host of Men.

Nor is Curiosity and a Licquorish Desire of enjoying that we never tried, (though known to be the Cloud, in which all the Storms impending Life are engendred,) yet cured in us. " Who by " Retail drop into the same Error we consider in " him, as the highest and most impertinent Folly. " The Apple of a wandring Eye ; not being self- " dom found able to over-ballance the Wisdom of " *Solomon*, and the Piety of *David*.

Wherefore it is time to give over upbraiding those Names of *Adam* and *Eve* : all things we never saw or knew, being empty Sounds, and impertinent Appellations. Not seldom loaden out of Ignorance in the Contents of their Story, (as a number of other dead Voices are,) with insignificant Praise or blame. Especially, since *Moses* and the Prophets are not heard to condemn them ; as conscious to themselves, they either would or could not but have done the like. Yet we may safely say, that between the Suspension of the Promise and the Fall, (which might possibly answer the time *Christ* remained on the Cross) *Adam* endured greater Agonies than ever was matched, but by God and Man : Who only knew the Way to untread the Maze in which Man had lost himself, and All that should succeed ; If so wicked as to harbour a desire of dilating himself, and bringing

an Off-spring into a like *Dilemma*, in which he saw nothing for the present, but Horror joyned with a fearful Expectation of worse to come. Not having so much as the weak Twig of Hope to sustain him from falling into Despair. Which could not spring but from the Root of an Experience, arising from a former experimented Mercy, the Garden having not yet produced any Fruit so lateward. There being as little Marks of Forgiveness, as there was a dismal Example of Justice stamped upon the disobedient Angels. Whose Condition was yet so far better than Man's, as an already determined Judgment is more tolerable than one that remains still Arbitrary, at the Will of an Omnipotent Power: and in this "miserable anxiety, God saves *Adam*, "whom nothing else was so merciful as to kill.

Now I can do no less than predicate here a more charitable Opinion than theirs, that conclude, the greatest proportion of Men lie under the Kingdom of Satan: by which, the Promise of Redemption comes to be restrained, and so the Truth of its Performance obstructed. It being no where observable in the Dignity of Reason, that a superlative Power should go less, or beneath its Word in relation to Good. It exceeding the Reach of the most rigid Distinction, or strictest Interpretation to find a Parity or equal Proportion between the Head and the Heel: If any were discoverable, between Crushing and Biting. "This makes me "tremble at their Presumption, who carry Breath "in their Nostrils, yet are not afraid to affirm, "that all Things so dear to our Maker, as to "be capable of a future Happiness, are not to be "found out of the Pale of Christendom, this or "that Church, or rather Chapel." No single Profession extant, carrying a greater proportion with the whole World than a peculiar Parish doth to a Province. As if the Fountains of God's Mer-

cy were not as ingenious, and his Seven Spirits as diffusive as those of the River *Nile* ; by which the Want not the neglect of Rain is supplied in *Egypt*. Nor can it be imagined with any Salvo, to the Dignity, Pity, Wisdom, Omnipotency, and the Promise of God first made, and therefore likely to be most inviolably kept, (he not being as Man, that he should repent) for, that the Earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is, the Fulness thereof, cannot be true, if Hell swallow up the major part. And that Christ his Son should be found at the last Afflizes with a smaller Train (let their Glory be never so Great) than his, who shall march in the Head of those miserable Souls, cloathed with the Wrath of God. Can any in Prudence, if in Equity, think that the Malice of his Enemy should be more diffusive in relation to Particulars, than the Mercy of our blessed Saviour ? who did not, like the Devil, Fall for our Destruction, but Rise for our Justification. There now lives not, a greater infidel than *St. Thomas* was : yet the Apostles do not excommunicate him, nor Christ reject him, but cure him through a palpable manifestation of those Wounds, the greatest part of the World have not, nor ever had any Knowledge of : Nor those most reserved, any inspection into ; but what they make through so small a Faith as doth not answer the Proportion of a Grain of Mustard-seed ; else they would remove those Mountains that shadow Truth. And if so single an Attestation as mine, might be allowed the boldness to appear against such a cloud of Witnesses, as have found the *Turk* and *Pope* guilty in Person of the Title of *Anti-Christ*, I should reverse the Sentence ; and pronounce it rather against that Order of Men, or Discipline, that put the Forgiveness of God under a Bushel, (which according to his Dignity and Promise, ought to diffuse it self over all the Nations

of the World) rendring by this means, the inexhaustible Treasure of Mercy, like the Philosopher's Stone: of which some have made the Gospel of Jesus Christ but an Allegory) only attainable by a People thus scituated, instructed and qualified: Whereas none that call upon the Name of God (a Custom appears by *Genesis* not to have begun till after *Adam*) are exempted out of the primitive Grant. The Fault of the Angels, if compared with that of Man, will not be found upon a true Survey, much different.

The first endeavouring to equal their Maker in his Power, the latter in his Wisdom.

It is harder to find a Reason for the Angels Sin against God, than their Malice to Man: It being usual for Malefactors to hate their Judge, and after Sentence, to endeavour the Hindrance of its Execution, and to bring others (at least those they know he favours) into a like Condemnation; having themselves no better Condition to hope for, nor worse to fear. Like the wicked of this World, which seek that Ease amongst Company, they are not able to find alone. Wherefore the preventing *Satan's* further Triumph, may not improbably be numbred amongst the Causes why God shewed Mercy to Men; in the Salvation of whom, had he been so sparing as some imagine, his Justice would appear more prevalent than his Mercy. And so run out into such a dishonourable Extream, as cannot be matched in the Practice of the greatest Tyrants that ever were; Which are not found to make a Temporal Punishment to extend to a Major Part, much less one Eternal.

Whatever the Text may seem to import to our dull Capacities, there was no Likelihood that *Adam* would have in this Condition (if he rightly understood himself) eat of the Tree of Life, but rather have swallowed Poison (had that Place afforded it.)

it.) Who by catching at the Shadow of Divinity, lost the real Substance of Humanity, at the suggestion of the Devil : who seeing God form a Governour out of the Dust, the most despicable part of his Government, yet a more honourable beginning than his, (any thing being better than nothing) he might look upon it with disdain, as unworthy the Sentence of Goodness. Neither might this humour of Pride be provoked, if he be admitted so much inspection into future Success, as to see the Creature he despised, should not only inherit the Glory he was fallen from, but exceed the Angels that continued in Integrity. Thus the Serpent growing fruitful in Presumption, Endeavours to frustrate his Maker's Intention, by labouring to deface his Image in Man.

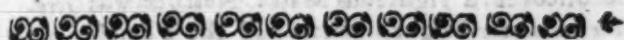
But Omnipotency struck Light out of Darkness, by making the Prince of it instrumental to the Production of his Son. And these joyful Tidings, *That the Seed of the Woman should prevail against the Gates of Hell*, God brings himself as a token that he meant to perform it in his own Person. Neither is it to be passed without Notice, that he saith, *the Seed of the Woman* only. For by that, might be prefigured the miraculous Conception of our Blessed Saviour without a Man ; no less, than the Perverseness of depraved Nature. For though *Adam* had thus offended and felt an effect of the Punishment in his present Apprehension, yet he was not able to lay hold on the weak Virtues of Repentance and Acknowledgment ; the lawful Daughters of Hope, with whom yet he had no acquaintance, much less interest, before the Promise of Christ. But instead of these Tokens of Grace, he wanted not the Impudence to lay the fault on God ; as if the Woman had been made and given him for his Destruction. And in this *Eve's* Sin was less, and her Manners more ; “ For though

“ she would not take it to her self, but cast it on
 “ the Serpent, yet she doth not upbraid God with
 “ the making of it.

Now by God's mild Answer in this no less than
 in his *Colloquy* held with *Cain* after the Murther of
 his Brother, we may find, he is not angry according
 to the mode of Men, or as some represent
 him with thunder continually in his Hand. As if
 our Prevarications and Miseries had created Passions
 in our Maker, and taught him to be Angry or
 Merciful. Since if ever he had been capable of Fury,
 it had now appear'd, when he found Malice,
 Ingratitude, Folly, and Pride, All, laid in the
 Way to interrupt his Work, which his Justice must
 have ruined, had it not been quenched by Love:
 A Vertue taken out of the hidden Fountain of his
 Goodness, which till then he was not pleased to
 reveal.

And here, his passing by all notice of the De-
 vil's Operation in *Adam's* Transgression may colour
 their Opinion, who think, “ Sin did then, and
 “ now doth Proceed from our selves.





IV.

A DISCOURSE

*Upon the Greatness and Corruption
of the COURT of ROME.*

THERE is nothing, Idleness and Peace makes not worse; Labour and Exercise better: The Tree that stands in the Weather, roots best, and deepest; the running Water, and Air, that is agitated, are most wholesome and sweet. The Cause of this may be deduced from God's Eternal Decree, That nothing in Nature should remain idle, and without Motion: This also extends to the Children of Grace, who go more nimbly about the Works of their heavenly Calling, being driven by the Storms of Persecution, than when they have nothing but the smooth Voice of Prosperity to allure and persuade them. The Martyrs professed Christ more boldly, amidst the Flames of the hottest Persecutions, than we dare do in the Sun-shine of the Gospel.

God never made a larger Promise of his continuing Truth in any Place, than to the Nation of the Jews: Yet how often do we find it buried in the Rubbish of Errors and Impiety? Their Kings and Priests either teaching or at least tolerating Idolatry: The Church being driven into so dark

and narrow a Corner, as the Prophet *Elias* could not discover a righteous Man : Neither was *Jerusalem* in better Plight, which had the Temple, and in that the Oracles of God, in Possession. For if it did escape Profanation during the worser Days of *Solomon*, his Son *Reboboam* saw it plundered ; and in most of his Successor's Reigns it lay neglected or misemployed. So that if a Stranger, led by the glorious Title the *Jews* had, to be the People of God, should have conformed himself to their Worship, he had scarce mended his Market, though he were before never so great an Idolater. Yet God never gave a larger Charter to any Church, part of it being contain'd in these Words, *I have hallowed this House which thou hast built, to put my Name there for ever.* This proves God's Promises conditional, and that outward Felicity seldom accompanies inward Integrity ; or, if they have the Luck to meet, they presently part, Men's Hearts being ordinarily too narrow to entertain Goodness and worldly Pomp.

The Churches we read of in the *New Testament*, with whom the Holy Ghost was so familiar, as to direct particular Letters unto them, are not now to be found. Only *Rome* brags, she remains the same in Purity of Doctrine, tho' for Manners she is as corrupt as her elder Sister *Sodom* ; so that if *Italy* be a Circle of Impiety, the Court of *Rome* is the Center. Yet these plead their Title with God himself, grounding it upon the tottering Foundation of worldly Felicity : Forgetting that it is against the Example of all Times, that any Nation, much less a Church, should so long fail under the merry Gale of earthly Prosperity, and not long e'er this discharge herself of that rich Lading she was fraught withal, when she traded for Souls, under the Fathers of the Primitive Times. There having been such a Succession of imperious Greatness in that Chair, as *Rome* is now more like the proud
and

and triumphant Chapel of Antichrist, than the poor and militant Church of God. All the Calamities that have of late fallen upon her, may be said to have dropt from her own Ambition, in seeking to enlarge her Power at the Cost and Prejudice of others; and therefore more naturally to be stiled Punishment than Persecutions.

You cast your Eyes on no Story where the Villany of Popes is not at large discovered: Who can then believe that the pure Spirit of God should endow with Infallibility of Judgment, Monsters so visibly corrupted? We find the Holy Ghost did, under the Law, hate and forbid all Impurity, tho' in meer outward Ceremony; how then should he, under the brighter Light of the Gospel, suffer himself to be poured out of one unclean Vessel into another, beginning again with a *Conjurer* where he left off with a *Sodomite*.

Yet they say, *Rome* is the true Church, out of which there is no Salvation: Not remembring that the holy Scripture, Charity, and Reason, tell us, God's Church is as universal as the Earth; and shall one Day be gathered together under Christ the Head. Now in the mean time, that Harmony of Opinions they pretend to, may be rather wished, than hoped for. In *St. Paul's* Time some made Conscience of eating things sacrificed to Idols, others of Circumcision; yet he condemns them not for Shismatical. And it is but a weak Evasion to say, He bore with them in regard of the Infancy of the Church: For in these Days of Knowledge she is an infantine in some Places, as she was then; where he that taught had the Strength of Miracles to justify his Doctrine, which these want, and are driven to this shift in lieu of them, to cozen the People with such as are supposititious. Now, if there be no Salvation out of the Church of *Rome*, not to speak of our selves, &c.

what Charity is it to think all the Water cast away, that is poured, in Christ's Name, upon the Faces of those Christians in *Greece*, *Russia*, and remoter Places, to which this Age's Curiosity and Covetousness hath taught them the Way? This makes me think there is no room for such monopolizing Opinions: But I leave this to Divines, returning to the *Pope*.

After the Piety of the first Bishops of *Rome* had purchased them Reputation, and that God had not only opened the Hearts of Potentates to receive the Gospel, but their Hands to build and endow Churches: They being advanced first to the Dignity of Archbishops, thence to Patriarchs, and so at last to the Papal Supremacy, (a Name derived from *Pater Patriarcharum*, which, for Brevity's Sake was written *Papa*.) exchanged their Piety for Promotion; it being the Custom of frail Humanity, to conclude Goodness at the Beginning of Felicity.

For, taking the Advantage of new kindled Zeal, wisely observed by them to be the hottest, the Popes were able to lead King and People whither they pleased, and in the Interim had the Opportunity to proportion what Power or Riches they thought fit to themselves.

Now, as Policy is not able to keep long the right Way to Heaven, so at last it led them into a world of Impieties, by encroaching, under Pretence of Religion, upon higher Jurisdiction and Power than could naturally belong to Subjects: Which, wanting Strength of their own to maintain, they sheltered them under the Donation of such Princes, as had no better Titles to their Crowns, than was derived from an Usurpation over the Weakness of those in former Possession; glad of the Pope's Protection, because they found the Generality of Men, either out of Religion or Ignorance, made their

Esteem

Estimate of the Truth or Falshood of the Titles, and Legality of the Claims of Princes, according as they were more or less current in the Opinion of their Clergy, whose Judgments depended wholly on the Bishop of *Rome*, who afforded his Approbation to their illegitimate Titles, out of no weaker Reason of State, than they at first desired it: Laying up with all Diligence, their Petitions and his Grants, to remain as Precedents for their Posterity to be guided by: Therefore it is no Wonder why these Tyrants and Usurpers should strengthen the Power of the Pope, since the Foundation of their own was laid upon the exorbitant Excess of that of *Rome*: which is so improved, as the Emperor hath, for many Ages, received his Crown from their Successors, to whom his Predecessors had formerly given the Miter.

The Cloud of Ignorance, that did then cover the Face of the World; was a great help to keep their Jugling undiscovered: For that little Learning extant in those Times, was wholly included in the Monastical Clergy, (the Laity being intent upon nothing but Wars and Pleasure) so as they had Opportunity to make all Books and Records speak in their Favour, which being Manuscripts, and so but in few Hands, it was no hard Matter to corrupt them. Besides being prohibited Marriage, they did neither respect nor acknowledge other Posterity or Alliance, than those to succeed in the same Places, of whom they had so religious a Care, as they thought none merited well of the Church, that did not leave them endowed with more Power and Immunities than they found them: Making it an Article of the Faith they owed to the Profession, to suppress the Laity, and advance the Clergy: And if this was the End, they esteemed no Means ill, conducing to it.

Thus

Thus by Time, the Indulgency of good, and Necessity of wicked and illegitimate Princes, they freed their whole Society from the Jurisdiction of the Temporal Magistrate, not suffering them to be liable to any Punishments, but those eternal, and such as their own Superiors shall think fit to lay upon them; seldom suitable to the Fault, unless in case of Schism from their general Tenets; and in this their Jealousy, no less than Prudence makes them very severe. Now having purchased Ease, Honour, and Impunity, such as were poor, guilty, or ambitious, besides younger Brothers, and those in Debt, entered their Fellowship; which freed them from present Want, and Fear of Punishment for former Offences, how capital soever: And these being, for the most Part, of the best natural Abilities soon learned the Skill, so to work on the Consciences of dying People, and those affrighted with their Sins, that the Church was left Heir of the best Part of *Chriffendom*. And taking Encouragement from the blind Zeal then reigning, (which till Printing had opened a Way to Knowledge, rendred all things possible unto them) they did not only make use of such profitable Errors, as their Fore-fathers left them, but brought in new ones of their own contriving, gilding them with the splendid Titles of things necessary and of religious Use; amongst which, were Images, brought in at first only to encourage others to imitate their Constancy, whom they saw painted, with the Manner of Death they had been put to by the Persecutors of those Times: Of the Cross, wore anciently only for a Cognizance, they have made a Tutelary God, looking no higher in their Extremities: The blessed Saints were scandalized with the Worship given to them, and their Reliques: whom, in a full Imitation of the Heathen, they made Protectors of their Cattle,

tle, and smaller Pleasures, as Hawking, Hunting, &c. And because the BIBLE did not, in their Opinions, afford a Store sufficient for all Uses, they have added a Number more, as may be found in their Legends.

To the Monks, and all sorts of Friars, the Popes have successively given immense Privileges and Indulgences, wisely considering, they gain them Victories, without the Sword, and are a strong and faithful Militia, fed and paid by the respective Princes of *Christendom*, who, though they know they depend on a foreign Power, yet few dared to explode them: so sharp and terrible was their Fear of the Knife, and more deeply wounding Dart of Excommunication. And because, in case all Kings should have joined, it might have gone hard with his Holiness, he kept them employed abroad at the holy War, or at Enmity one with another, or at least at Unity with himself, by maintaining their usurped Titles, or dispensing with their incestuous or adulterous Marriages. But finding, in these latter Days, Knowledge hath exposed him to a Reformation, and that Princes would no longer make the Vindication of his Temporalities, or whar, under the Notion of Spirituals, he is pleased to call his, a Matter of Religion: and not daring to alter any thing formerly admitted by his Predecessors, for fear of falling under this undeniable Conclusion, *That he which hath erred in one thing, may in more*: He most politickly call'd in the Inquisition, which turneth no less to the Profit of the secular Prince (who hath all he dislikes condemned by an Authority uncapable as well of Envy as Revenge) than the Preservation of the Ecclesiasticks, and his Holiness's Power from falling under ordinary Dispute: which Policy he borrowed of his younger Brother *Mahomet*, whose Errors remain to this Day in Credit,

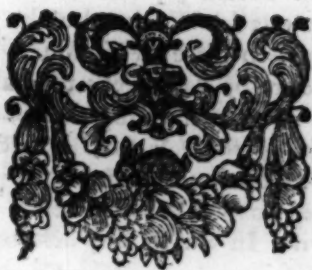
dit, because it is Death to question the Truth of them.

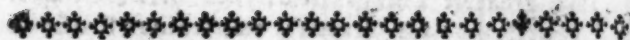
No Man can say the Pope imitates *Peter*, except in denying his Master ; who following the Example of *Christ*, did in humility wash his Companion's Feet, which this doth in jest, during the Holy-Week, as they call it ; but suffers his own to be, in earnest, kiss'd by Kings and Emperors. It is true, he styles himself (*Servus Servorum*) the Servant of Servants, but is content to be worshipped under the Title of *Lord of Lords* : Nay, some of his Flatterers have given him the Name of a *God*, yet with *Paul* and *Barnabas*, he doth not rend his Cloaths, saying, *He is a Man subject to Infirmities, as others are* ; but rather seeks to seem worthy of this Title, by proclaiming to the World, *That he cannot err*, a Power God hath wholly reserved to himself ; or if communicated (which I will not now dispute) it is only to the Church in general, when, in his Fear they shall meet to determine Matters of Religion, which is so contrary to the Nature of his Greatness, that no sound is so terrible to him, as that of a *General Council*, a thing this Age cannot hope to see free and intire, by reason of the contrary Interests of Princes who, together with Religion, mingle their covetous and ambitious Pretences : For if such Interruptions had not been, so indecent a Proceeding should never have taken Place, as was in the *Council of Trent* ; where the Emperor suffered the Pope to be Party and Judge, and the Bishops bereft of all Power, either to propose or determine. Nor were the Plaintiffs admitted to more favour or liberty of Disputation, than to remain quiet, and hear themselves condemn'd ; so as in conclusion, though this Synod was desired only to abate the Power, and reform the abuses of the Court of *Rome*, it was managed by them with so much Policy that it did rather
much

much strengthen and confirm the exorbitant Power of that See.

The greatest Things in dispute between Papist and Protestant, are Matters concerning Profit or Honour, which may satisfy any, not delighted with Blindness, that they were brought in by Diligence of the Priests, taking advantage from the Ignorance of preceding Ages.

From all which I may conclude, that such amongst them as are wise, conversant in History, and acquainted with the present Practice of the Court of Rome, are fowly to be suspected of *Atheism*: because Conscience can never be perswaded against a convincing Experience: which is also made good by the irreligious *Italians*, from whom comes this Proverb, *The nearer the Church the farther from God*: For such abhor Religion, because they see the Pope makes but a politick Robe of it, taking the Liberty himself to put it on, or off, as becomes his Occasions.





A DISCOURSE

*Upon the ELECTION of Pope
LEO the XIth.*

IN the Negotiations of Cardinal Perron *, may be found a perfect Journal of so much of the Election of LEO the XIth, as was possible to be known by one Side ; to which *Discourse* I refer all Those, that do believe the POPE can be the true Successor of St. PETER: It being incongruous both to Prudence and Religion, to imagine the Holy Ghost should mingle Interests with the ambitious Ends of Princes, who shun no impious Means, to make him succeed, that is thought the truest Friend to their Occasions. I know it is not only in the Power, but the Practice of God, to raise his End out of ill Means ; yet it were Presumption in Men to shape out his Work, tho' he be able to fit our Endeavours to his own Honour.

But the Court of Rome seeks to make the People believe, that, notwithstanding these Considerations, after the *Mafs of the Holy Ghost* is said, he is really present in the Conclave, as he was with the Eleven Disciples, when they chose a Successor to Judas, who betrayed Christ. In which they acknowledge them-

* He was born 1556 ; the Son of a Protestant Divine, but turned *Papist* : He became a great Writer of Controversy, and died at Paris 1618. Aged 63.

elves either Atheists, or presumptuous Fighters against God ; for, if the Choice be his, how dare they interpose their Mediation, or hope the *French* or *Spanish* Factions can possibly prevail ; one Side ever interrupting because both cannot be pleased. They have of late been made, sometimes by the other, which must conclude the Holy Spirit subservient to human Endeavours, or no more Friend to this Choice, than to that of the Grand Signior.

Here you may see how they labour to hire, or force, the Holy Ghost to fix upon some such Subject, as may be most auspicious to the prevalent Party, who is invoked out of Ceremony, leaving the rest to be hewed out by themselves. Before these Monarchs grew so potent, the Troubles in the Conclave were rather more, than less : For the Cardinals made Elections so tedious, by their towing, that sometimes the *Romans*, sometimes other Princes, forced them to resolve. And to avoid such Constraint, they did often pitch upon impotent Men, such as for Age or Weakness were not likely to hold out long (as this *Leo*, who died in few Weeks after his Assumption) during whose Time the Pretenders are at Leisure to concoct their Designs better ; which is ordinarily done by Bribes ; or, in case they prevail not, by Poison ; nay, the Devil is not left unfought to : So as *Balzac* saith, *None, on this side the Alps, labour more to look well, than some of them to seem sickly and weak* ; hoping, by that Means, to obtain the Chair ; which is able, of a gouty Cardinal, to make a sound Pope.

In ancient Time the Bishops of *Rome* were chosen by the Parish Priests of that City ; and now, since Cardinals came in, is no more known, (though not antient) than the Date of many Novelties, that have most shamefully been imposed upon the Church : Yet to this Day, no Ecclesiastical Cardinal (for they have others) but retains among his
Titles,

Titles, the Name of one of the Parish Churches in Rome, though he be ordinarily called by his own Name, or else some other Bishoprick or Dignity he hath in Commendam. By the Institutions of a former Pope, which for Shame they dare not revoke, all his Actions that gets into the Chair by Simony, are null. Now, what are all these sinister Endeavours, but so many several Sorts of Simony? If *Simon Magus* had attempted by Policy, Mediation of Friends, or Flattery, to have obtained the Gift of the Holy Ghost, should his Fault have been less, or not rather greater; Money being the richest Offer he could make, and most suitable to the Apostles Wants, which he saw others, endued with the same Spirit, daily cast at their Feet? And, if this be granted, when had the Church a Head able to utter any thing but Falshoods, or Nullities? all Popes having, for many Years, entered at one of these Gates. In Civil Kingdoms, the Crown is to be obeyed, without questioning how the Wearer came by it; but to tie the Ecclesiastical Power to these Conditions, were to bind the Holy Ghost to the Pope's Chair.

The Bishop of Rome lays an absolute Claim to an unerring Spirit; but is not able to demonstrate the Time when he had it: If it were always, the Errors found inherent in the Persons were incapable of Flame or Retraction. Yet out of this Cloud of Uncertainty, say they, the Holy Ghost dictates only to his Church, and such as deny it are Hereticks. If at any Time he hath the Spirit of Infallibility, it is, perhaps, at his first Entrance into the Chair, as *Saul* had a greater measure upon his new anointing, than in all his Reign besides; yet, in the Election of this *Leo XI*, (of the House of *Medicis*, and, before his Assumption, known by the Title of Cardinal of *Florence*,) appears no such Matter, which would not have been omitted by the

the Penner of the Passages of their Conclave; being an Eye-witness, and a Cardinal, who doth pride himself much in his Fortune, and the Policy both he and the *French* Party had used in his Advance. But, it may be, *Paul* the Fifth, who succeeded this *Leo*, had it, when he made so great a Present to the Devil, as at once to excommunicate the whole State of *Venice*, with all the Territories belonging unto it: But this was afterwards condemned by himself, as rash and inconsiderate; Terms most unbefitting a Thing done by God. And wise Men may here justly take Occasion to conclude, that no Pope doth think, or ever thought, he had a Power of not erring: For, if such a Spirit were an usual Companion of that See, *Paul* V. would have expected the Operation of it, and not have troubled a State to so little Purpose, without the Assistance, at least, of a Revelation.

He that desires to be informed of the Illness of Modern Popes, may be abundantly satisfied, if he consult Historians, who are not dumb in declaring the Faults of the Court of *Rome*. The Truth is, were it not for the strict (or, if you will, call them pious) Lives of a few melancholick Friars, it is impossible so much Wickedness should not be hooted out of the World.

Yet the Court of *Rome* hath as strong Supporters as Policy is able to bring; tho' her truest Friends are Ignorance, the Inquisition, and Interests of Princes: The first lies in every particular Man to reform; the second, for the most part, in the King of *Spain*; the third only in GOD.

POLIT



POLITICAL OCCASIONS

Of the Defection from the Church of R O M E.

AS some Diseases, and other Mulets, (but accidental in the first Result) become, after a small Succession, hereditary to a Family; so Opinions, if once inveterate, render their Professors Ears, like those of the Adder, deaf to the wiser and more probable Charms of Reason. I came just now from talking with a *Papist*, and find him (though a Scholar) so wrapped up in the old Rags of Tradition, and inspired with so strong an implicit Faith, that I think it had been one of the nearest things to impossible, for the Bishop of *Rome* to have lost so many, had he not fallen into such Errors as these.

1. The seeking to maintain a greater Shew of Piety in the Church, than was suitable to human Frailty, and the Comforts of Life: The Friars Habit being no less nasty than unseemly, and therefore shunn'd by nicer Judgments and those of Parts, not so capable of Temptation from any thing, as Pleasure and Profit: Or if such Austerity was called for, in relation to external Zeal, (the Parade of all Religions, and fit to be mustered up often in the Eyes of the People) yet the Generality might have been left to more decent Accoutrements,

countrements, by which they had become sociable unto others, and not loathsome to themselves.

2. Though such Austerity was exacted from the Members, the Head and Capital Clergy observed not the like: Which alarmed not only their Maligners, but those of their own Coat, whose Desert of Fortune had not raised them to the same Transcendency.

3. The Admittance of *Printing*, impossible but to prove disadvantageous unto those, whose strongest Evidence, for the Maintenance of their Power, lay in the Ignorance and Patience of the World, which this could not but be thought probable both to inform and disturb.

4. The suffering Nations to swell into such vast Bodies, as *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy*. The most obtained under the Churches pretence, which in Favour to one, and Malice to others, did blast Princes Titles by the Thunders of Excommunication, and set the People at Odds with their natural Sovereigns. By which Exorbitances, they taught the *Germans* and our *Henry the Eighth*, to find out a Remedy by applying to this proud Flesh, the Powder of Reformation; the Strength of which, made the same Zeal, that swell'd the *Priests* to this Height, as ready to tear away the Ground from under them.

5. The mixing a Desire of Temporal Power, with what is purely Spiritual, put such an Allay upon their Sanctity, that it became less currant, than otherwise it might have been, had they not used the Sword, which *Peter* only drew (and yet not without a Check) in his Master's Cause, to purchase

purchase Principalities for their Children and Nephews.

6. The falling into the common Error of weaker Princes, who, to palliate some extemporary Mischief, do oftentimes contract an incurable Inconvenience, as was done in the Case of *John Hufse*, and *Hierom of Prague*: * in relation to whose Proceedings the Fathers in the Council of *Basil* enacted, that *no Faith was to be kept with Heteticks*. By which they have rendred themselves incompatible with any other Tenets than their own; to whom they do by this almost as much as confess, that upon the Access of a Power sufficient, none are to expect milder Conditions, than to lay their Heads upon the Block, or cast their Consciences at the *Pope's* Feet.

7. The irrepealable Authority given to the Decrees of all approved Synods, opposeth the Custom of Nature, and Course of all sublunary Things, which are apt to change; no less than true Reason of State, that abhors to be shackled by any severer Restraint than she is able to cast off upon approach of a greater Advantage: The dispensing with an unsociable Tenet being far less prejudicial, than the continuance of it against the Grain of the Generality.

8. The *Pope* should have removed at least so many of the Hundred Grievances, presented at the Diets, as he found all Estates concurred in the dislike of: The Charge and Trouble incident to

* See, a very curious Piece, intituled *The Pretended Reformers*; Or, a true History of the German Reformation. Published by *Matthias Earbery*, Presbyter of the Church of *England*. 1720.

the Roman Religion afflicting Men's Temporalities as much almost as their Falshood could their Consciences : It being more Policy to part with Things not absolutely necessary, willingly, than by Constraint.

9. The open Partiality shewed in the Affairs of divided Princes : By which the one Side is made perpetually his Enemy, and the Friendship of the other no longer permanent, than it receives Benefit : being wise enough to see, that the same Arts and Power that are able to help now, may, upon the recoil of Interest, be as apt to hurt : All Strength conjuring up Jealousy in Kings, that is not absolutely at their own dispose.

10. The ordinary and slight Provocations the Pope took to draw the Dagger of Excommunication : which acquainted Princes no less with the Bluntness of his Weapons, than the Keenness of his Malice. By which they were taught to abate, so much as possibly they could, the Reach of his Power, lest it should have increased to an universal Prejudice ; nothing being more notorious than the Ambition of the Church, not possibly to be moderated, but by an absolute Restraint, and an open Discovery of the Arts used to twist the Interests of *Christ* with those purely their own : a Medley of Colours apparent to judicious Eyes : with which Religion was so daped, that it was embraced by the most, rather out of Ostentation than Love, or pure Zeal, and so not likely to continue long.

11. Had he turned the Edge of his Ecclesiastical Sword against *Turks* and *Infidels*, which he hath, since *Gregory* the Great, chose rather to sheath in the Bosom of *Christians* (whose Differences, espe-

cially if they intrenched upon his Supremacy, he fomented into Flames) he might have enlarged the Extent of his own Jurisdiction by a Supply of new *Profelites*, who are ever sonder of their Nurses, than those whose sharper Experience of the Covertness, and Ambition of the Church hath weaned from being so highly pleased with the *Roman Gewgaw*. I confess it unsuitable to his Interest, to suffer all or the Major Part of *Christendom* to fall under the Jurisdiction of one Person, for then his Power would be eclipsed, as the *Moon*, in Opposition; or quite lost, as the *Stars* upon the Approach of the *Sun*: which arraigns him of Indiscretion, for suffering the *German Empire* to be *Hereditary*: easily to have been fore-seen, when once it fell upon so powerful a Prince as *Charles the Fifth*, not likely to part with any thing he had once possessed, and now too strongly rooted in the *Austrian Family*, ever to be eradicated but at the Cost of a Total Subversion either by the *Turk* or *Lutheran Professors*.

12. The several Orders, and distinct Names they gave the *Friars*, known to breed Emulation and Division among them; as is evident about the Conception of the *Virgin Mary*, &c. And the irreconcilable Feud between the active Society of *Jesus*, and all the other duller Fraternities.

13. Ceremony (though the Body of Religion, yet) is too weak to bear that Stress the *Priests* laid upon it; who should rather have built upon Faith, to which nothing is impossible: considering withal that though external Behaviour may add Warmth to Zeal, yet a Redundancy of it doth not seldom suffocate and extinguish it, by converting it into Idolatry, which is a palpable Mistake in the Worship of God, and cannot long, among knowing People, be held from clamouring for a Reformation.

tion; which the *Pope* should ever have prevented by a hasty doing it himself: For if once undertaken by the uninterested Rabble, they will never leave, till the Form of Worship is bruised and beaten out of all Comeliness, so as nothing can satisfy but the moulding it anew. Which the Wit of no single Age, much less that contained in a few Heads, is able to make compleat: Church-Discipline, well instituted, being the highest Result of all Prudence, God hath intrusted Men withal: whose Materials too near scrutinized, seem to discover more Policy than Piety; by the Contemplation of which, Men's Judgments being once dazled, they are ever after propense to *Atheism*, and a prejudicial Jealousy of their Teachers.

14. The *Pope* neglected the prudential Carriage of a Miller, who being supplied with a larger Stream than the Conveniency of his Trade requires, suffers it to run waste, rather than endanger the Subversion of the whole Engine, he hath liv'd so long happily by. Whereas the *Pope* permitted the Ecclesiasticks, not only to appropriate to their particular Profit, all that which ignorant Zeal did voluntarily and plentifully shower down upon them, but connived at the Mists and Thunders they raised in the Consciences of dying Men: By which they became co-heirs almost in every Family: Forgetting that a great Booty invites Theft, at best Envy; it being unlikely, Princes should long forbear squeezing such Sponges, out of Awfulness to Religion, as had no better Authority for their draining their Subjects, than they drew from a foreign Power; owned by the most, rather out of Policy than Piety, especially since it was ordinary with his Holiness himself to make great Leavies upon no other Reason, than to aug-

ment his own, or raise new Empires for his Sons or Nephews.*

15. The abundance of such Contingencies bred a Neglect of their surer and more legitimate Patrimony, consisting in Tithes and unquestioned Church-Duties; very sufficient to have maintained a Number large enough for the loading the Patience and Conveniency of the most prudent States, without the Addition of such vast Revenues, not possible to be apprehended but under the Notion of things superfluous in the Church, since *Christ* in Person never owned such Plenty, which made it seem more undecent in him that pretended to be his Vicar.

16. Fallacies discovered in Miracles, which call in question as well those antiently and truly done, as such as are reported to be new. Thus the pious Deceits our Ancestors used to bring Men to Salvation, are not only made Stales to catch Profit, but instrumental to Infidelity.

* See, *The History of the Pope's Nephews*. Written Originally in *Italian* by *Gregorio Leti*, under the Title of, *Il Nepotismo di Roma*.



A DISCOURSE

IN VINDICATION of MARTIN LUTHER.

HE may be suspected of *Hypocrisy*, if not *Atheism*, that too suddenly leaps out of one Opinion into another; it being impossible for meer Flesh and Blood, to pull up all at once a Religion rooted by Custom and Education in the Understanding, which must be convinced, before it can let in another with any Cordial welcome. I speak not of the ancient and extraordinary Callings of God; but those experimented in our times, in which over much Haste doth often-times bewray Deceit, as appeared in the Bishop of *Spalatto*, who in my Days left *Italy* for fear of *PAUL* the Fifth, his Enemy, and reconcil'd himself to the Church of *England*; but the old *Pope* being dead, and his Kinsman in the *chair*, he resumes his former Errors, and goes to *Rome*, in hope of Preferment, where contrary to Promise, he dies miserably. When Falshood is fallen out with for any other Respect, than Love of Truth, it inclines to *Atheism*, and is so far from mending the Condition of the Convert, that it renders it worse.

None ever shewed greater Signs of God's Spirit, than *Luther* did; who observed such Gradations, as it may appear he found fault with nothing, he was not first led to by the Dictates of Conscience:

Falling first upon the Abuse of *Indulgences*, too apparent an Impiety, to pass by so acute a Judgment undiscovered, from this he ascended to higher Contemplations, which afforded him the Opportunity to take Notice of remoter and deeper Errors. His Wit and Learning having that vast Advantage over the stupid Ignorance of those Times, that he bare down all before him, without any other Opposition, than the contrary Faction was able to raise out of Power; much weakened by the Desire all Princes had, to set Limits to the Pope's daily Usurpations. And as for the Books, then writ against him, they did rather sharpen, than blunt the Desire of change: For the *Friars* had so long enjoyed a free Current of the Doctrine, without Interruption, that they were more intent on the reaping of such Fruit, as grew from the Errors sown by their Predecessors, than upon Arguments to defend them. So as if Princes, that were weary of the Yoke of *Rome*, had wanted the Guidance of *Luther*, it is not easy to say, whither they might have wandered. And though *Charles* the Fifth, then Emperour, to keep his Subjects in Obedience, did seem to discountenance the Schism (as they call'd it) yet he was content to shut up the Pope in the Castle of *St. Angelo*. Which proves his small Affection, and the Truth of this Tenet, that if ever *Christendom* falls under one Monarch, or turns into popular States, the Power of the Pope will be lost, or confined to *Rome*; being at this Day only kept up, like a Shittle-cock, by the bandying of Princes.

'Tis objected against *Luther*, that he was too passionate, using irreverent Speeches towards some in Authority? Yet so much of this Fault, as Zeal leaves unexcused, may be imputed to his Education. All that can be said, is, he was but a Man, and subject to common Infirmities, and because

cause his Enemies do so often object this, it is strongly to be presumed, his worst Fault. I could have wish'd, he had not married a Nun : but I believe he did it to shew People, the Quarrel was irreconcilable, as *Absalom* projected when he polluted his Father's Bed : And in this Sense, the Benefit takes away much of the Blame, which lay not in the Unlawfulness, but the Inexpediency of the Fact. And to shew, God did not curse his Match (though he might participate of the Fate of other learned Men, who seldom find their Abilities represented in their Issue ; yet) he left three such Sons, as did not give his Enemies occasion to upbraid his Memory with them.

For the Real-Presence, maintained by him in the Sacrament, it doth not so much condemn his Judgment in this, as it justifies his Integrity in all the rest : He being as resolute to vindicate what he thought true, against the Perswasions of his Friends, as he was against the Threats and Promises of his Enemies : For if any bye-respect could have warped him, it would have been a Desire to appease the hot Dispute, the Retention of this Error raised in his own Party? wholly of his Judgment but in this Particular, in which *Zuinglius*, and the *Helvetian-Church* did oppose him. And if this be not enough to wash him clean from the Imputation of Self-ends and Covetousness, the Proverb used in *Germany* may, That *Poor Luther made many Rich.*

As he was protected from a Number of apparent Mischiefs, so the same had freed him from many hidden, in respect of the Eyes of the World, it being impossible, that he, who had gall'd so many Grandees, should not have Revenge laid in wait for him, in every Corner : Experience proving, that Kings themselves can scarce whisper against the Court of *Rome*, but the Knife is ready to give them

them a final Answer. His Death was with as little Molestation, as his Life was full: For being call'd to the Country of *Mansfeld*, the Place of his Birth, to determine a Case in Controversy between two Princes of that Family, he died there, in the Sixty third Year of his Age. *

Had the Apostles, nay our Saviour himself been alive, and maintained what *Luther* did, they had been persecuted by the Clergy: Therefore the crucifying of Christ is no Prodigy in Nature, but daily practis'd among Men: For he that can find the Heart to stigmatize and whip his Brother, for an Error meerly in Judgment, would never have spared *Peter* or *Paul*, coming with no more visible Authority than they had. But this is not the Way to suppress an Heresy, since most are jealous of that Opinion, which useth the Sword for her Defence; Truth having been long since determined to be most strong: And where Oppression is, there for the most part, she is supposed to be. This shews as little Discretion as Charity in such as persecute those, that may be in the Right; or, if not, shall by this Means, be kept the longer in the Wrong. If a Horse starts, the more He is beaten, the harder he is kept in the way; but let him stand and have Leisure to consider what he blanced at, and he will perceive it is a Block, and so go on. Yet it is neither Cruelty nor Imprudence, to restrain such furious Spirits (as they do Dogs) that will bawl and fly at all they do not know: But I should be utterly against burning their Books in publick, if they have once gained the Light: which only adds to their Price, and saves them a Labour; because, if the State did not put them

* This is a small Mistake of our Author, *LUTHER* did not die at *Mansfeld*, but at *Iselben*, in Germany, Anno 1548.

in Credit, by their Notice, they would perhaps, after a While for Shame, burn them themselves. The Whip reforms not so much as he that endures it; but is taken as a Triumph by the Faction, increasing their Animosity, if not their Number; so that in effect it proves a Punishment to none but the honest and tender hearted of the People, who cannot chuse but be scandalized, to see the Image of God defaced, by cutting Ears, and sitting Noses, &c. And this raiseth a strong Suspicion, that the Hand of Justice would not lie so heavy only on the preciser Side, but that something inclines it that may at last turn to the Subversion of the most moderate part.

The *Dutch*, though they tolerate all Religions and Tenets, yet none increased to their Prejudice, till they strove to suppress the *Arminians*, who are in Taste as like the *Papists*, as Scallions are to Onions; all the Difference is, that the latter is the stronger: Yet since they have let them alone, this Opinion is observed to be less numerously attended.

Had the Pope seasonably reformed the Error *Luther* discovered so apparently, in the Publication of Indulgences, and rewarded him a Bishoprick, for his Learning and Zeal, let him afterwards have said what he pleased: it would have been looked upon by the People as of no Credit: who like nothing so well, as what goeth cross to the Grain of Authority.

The Lord Treasurer *Cecil*, having been unsufferably abused by Libels, sent for the Poet, and, after he had rattled him soundly began to take Notice of the poor Fellow's good Parts, saying, *It might be, vexatious poverty, compelled him to make use of false, though common Rumours, given out by such as hated all in Authority; to ease which, he gave him Twenty Broad pieces, promising to take the first Opportunity to advance him.* This Favour

(most contrary to his Expectation, who would willingly have given one Ear to have saved the other) did so work with him, and the rest of the *Pasquillers* of the time, that till the Treasurer's Death, none used the like Invectives. Dr. *Bancroft*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, used the like Demeanour towards some Gentlemen that had laid the Imputation of *Sodomy* to his Charge, &c.

Clemency seldom causeth Repentance in an established Kingdom, or if it proves a Fault, it is easily mended; whereas Cruelty can never be recalled, raising a far greater Party out of a Thirst of Revenge, than ever yet could be mustered up from the hope of Impunity.

Therefore to conclude, since *Luther* alone had the Power to do so much, let us not be thus severe against others, that having their Zeal kindled (though perhaps at the wrong End) run madding through the World; but rather pity them, if they be in an Error: Because they something resemble the first Messengers of Truth.

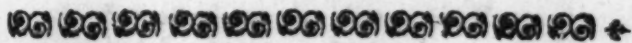




SELECT
DISCOURSES

UPON

- I. The Politicks of MACHIAVEL.
- II. Upon GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS's
Descent into *Germany*.
- III. Upon PISO and VINDEK, who
conspir'd the Death of NERO.



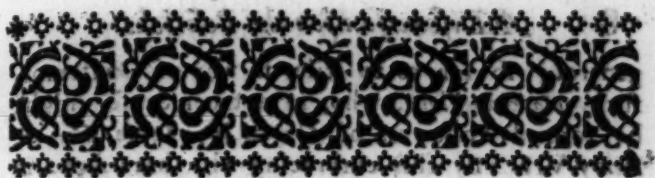
DISCOURSES
 SELECTED
 OF THE
 LATE
 JOHN
 WILKINS



I. The Politics
 II. Upon the
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I.

A DISCOURSE

*Upon the Politicks of NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL *: Or, an impartial Examination of the Justness of the Censure commonly laid upon him.*



MACHIAVEL is branded by All; neither can any absolve him quite from Blame: Yet, considering he was not only an Italian but a Courtier, few can do less than admire his bad Fortune, to see one Man inherit, in particular, the Mass of Reproaches due to all Princes and Statesmen in

* NICHOLAS MACHIAVEL, the celebrated Politician, flourished in the Sixteenth Century. He was racked for being an Accomplice in the Conspiracy against the House of Medicis; and his remarkable Constancy under that Trial, saved his Life. He died under the irregular Operation of a Dose of Physick, in the Year 1528, or 1529.

generall;

general; so far as to stile, in way of Contempt, such, *Machiavellians*, who, in a truer Sense, might be termed Followers of *Charles V.*, *Lewis XI.*, or *Henry VII.* By this embracing the bare Apparitions of Virtue and Vice, without observing the true Substance, which they quite let pass; marking for Blemishes in precedent Times, what Historians note for Prudence, if not Beauty in ours: So as he that impartially examines the Lives of those formerly named (who are yet no Prodigies in the Nature of Government) may find more Evil, than can be deduced out of this Man's Scenes, or (for ought we know) the worst of his Thoughts: Yet they have Wisdom inscribed on their Tombs, by the Penners and Readers of their Stories, in which they lie quiet under the Favour of some elegant Apology, hitherto denied to *Machiavel* by ignorant and ungrateful Posterity.

He was Secretary to the State of *Florence*, of which he hath left an incomparable History (in Eight Books, from the Year 1215 to 1494) with other Treatises so full of Truth, Learning and Experience, that the Hand of Detraction hath not been able to asperse them; only it endeavours to attach some straggling Expressions in a small Pamphlet, called his *PRINCE*, (being the Life of *Castruccio Castracani*) which are with far less Charity remembred; than so many larger and better Pieces forgotten.

That he was employed in honourable Embassies, is manifested from Story; and what umbragious and false Positions Ambassador's Professions oblige them to, the Transactions of all States abundantly declare: For, as the *Italian* saith, *The best of Women with their Petticoats divest their Modesty, to render themselves more grateful to their Husband's Embraces*; so publick Ministers can hardly pay the Endeavours they owe to their Country, without exchanging for

for worldly Policy, a great part of that Candor which should be current in the more sacred Commerce of honest and religious Men. Nor can any expect less Hope of Forgiveness, in relation to such as by these oblique Means advance the Preservation of God's People, than the Midwives of *Egypt* may be supposed to have had, who purchased themselves Houses by such uncertain Protestations, as, if extended on the Rack of a nice Scrutiny, could not chuse but confess and appear to all, little better than Lies. Few human Actions can be separated from the Dross of Deceit; only such are of best Esteem, as carry the greatest Mixture of Charity; which makes me humbly conceive, this learned Man deserves less Censure: Since such Princes only as *Jeroboam*, (whose Interest is always to damnify others in order to their own Preservation) and not their Instruments, may justly be said to cause *Israel* to sin.

His was no new Design, but in all Ages projected by the most faithful Historians, who make it their Business to personate and represent the Behaviour of Princes, though never so undecent; and did ever purchase the more Applause, according to the greater or less Faculty they had to do it to the Life. Neither can the strictest Religion condemn the Speculation of Ill, without betraying her Professors, if not her self: For, with what vast Disadvantage should a good *David* cope with a Son of *Belial*, were there not prudent *Hushai's* to countermine the Insidies of wicked *Ahitophels*, and to learn Men in Power the Art to catch their wily Neighbours in their own Traps? Nor do we find his Directions shunned in a less publick Commerce than that of Princes, since it lies not out of the way of Instance to prove some sharp Inveighers against *Machiavel* have attained to Church Preferments:

Under

Under the Favour of worse, or the same Principles, *Alexander VI*, ascended to the Papacy.

Do any lay Obscenity to the Charge of *Albertus* *? or is he not rather stiled the Great, for having so plainly set open the Closet of Nature? If any sort of Men have Reason to tax this Author, they are only Kings and Persons in Power: For as it is the Custom of Light Women, imperiously to blame all broad Expressions of what they captivate their Servants Affections by; so Statesmen may, with more Shew of Justice, complain of the Publication of such Axioms, that being undiscovered, their Use might be with more Secresy and Success.

Neither doth any greater Reproach redound to him from such as pervert them to the Prejudice of others, than to a Fencer, if his Scholars make Use of his Skill in the Destruction of their Friends: It being only his Aim to teach them how to guard themselves, and resist others that shall, contrary to the Laws of God, Nature, and Probity, endeavour to assault them.

Ignorance, and Lack of Experience in the Customs of other Nations, are the Parents of these spurious Censures; for had they been where he writ, these Documents would be no more admired, than the most monstrous of those *Chineses* we observe in *England*, are, in comparison of some to be found at the Feet of the *Alps*.

Neither will a small Abatement appear in his Charge, if the Days he lived in be seriously considered. His Misfortune was, to be Cotemporary with Pope *Alexander VI*, and of intimate Acquaintance with his Son *Cesar Borgia*: And what these

* *Albertus Magnus*, Bishop of *Ratisbonne*, wrote a Book, Intituled, *De Secretis Mulierum*. He died at *Cologne*, in the Year 1280.

were, is sufficiently apparent to Men versed in Story; a Study such proclaim themselves ignorant of, that can so bitterly exclaim upon *Machiavel*: For, were they conversant with the Procedures of Superlative Powers, his Rules would seem rather impertinent, and below the Practice of Princes, than to deserve such severe Reproofs; the Sting of which lies in their own Ignorance, not the more useful Knowledge they condemn.

No Age abounded more with Action, or shewed the Instability of worldly Honours plainer, than that he writ in: Therefore, from a Man wholly conversant in Court-Employments, (where it is thought a Lunacy to look beyond the second Causes, or to act upon the Credit of any higher Providence than their own) worse things in reason might be expected than this; which are really no other than the History of wise Impieties, long before legible, and since imprinted, with new Additions, in the Hearts of every ambitious Pretender; yet he undergoes a Censure equal with those that commit far greater Wickedness, than his or any Person else is able to express.

Divers Estates in *Italy* did, in his Time, desire, or actually change, their Lords: A Juncture opportune to teach nothing so naturally, nor require any thing more necessary, than Aphorisms of Policy. For *Naples* was torn out of the House of *Anjou* by *Ferdinand*; and the People oppressed under Father and Son. *Lodowick* took the Dukedom of *Milan* from young *Galeas*, with the like Treachery as *Francis Sforza*, Father to *Galeas*, had done from the Dukes of *Orleans*.

He saw the Descent of the *French* into *Italy* winked at by Pope *Alexander VI*, in Expectation of raising an House for his Son *Cesar*, out of the Gleanings of the *French* King's Conquest; in which he prayed without his Beads, being so far out in the

Ac-

Account, as that after *Charles* had got a large Share in *Italy* (through the Mediation of the Jealousy of Princes, no less than the Discontent of the People, arising from the uneasy Posture they lay in, so as all Changes were considered with Delight) he entered *Rome*, forced his Holiness into *St. Angelo*, from whence, after some time, he came out swearing to such Capitulations, as the victorious King was pleased to profer him; And though at his Reception, the *French* King kissed his Foot, yet he durst not trust to his single Infallibility, but took his Son *Cesar* for an Hostage; and to hide it from the Envy of other *Catholick* Princes, he covered his Detention with the Title of an Embassy, still to reside near him in token of Amity: But, not long after, *Cesar* procuring an Escape, his Father, contrary to his Oath, contracted a League against the *French*; so much to the Prejudice of that Kingdom's Affairs, as it may not only excuse *Machiavel*, but all Writers of Politicks, if they labour to abate the Faith of Princes, in relation to the strictest Stipulations made with Neighbours, found seldom observed, but broken as oft as kept by Absolute-powers, to the irreparable Loss of the weaker Party: Whereas an Error in private Persons may be expunged by an After-game, or helped by Complaint, &c. Remedies too weak to cure the Wounds of Princes, who in such Cases are saved only by their Unbelief, and seldom perish, but through unadvised Confidence, in giving too much Credit to the Protestations of less religious Performers of Covenants, which rise and fall; not according to the more constant Standard of Religion, but the various Success of worldly Occasions: And he that knows not how rare a Commodity Probity is, in the Market of Princes, is no fit Reader, much less a competent Judge of *Machiavel*.

Leagues,

Leagues, Truces, Compacts, and Peace, are become so crack'd and invalid, through a daily Miscalriage in performance, as they serve for little better use, than to buy in, smaller Territories, such as *Lorain* and the lesser Cities and Principalities in *Italy* and *Germany*, that have little else to trust to, but the Promises of Protection they receive from more potent Monarchs, which they know would devour them, but out of dread of each other: Therefore bound by the strongest Reason of State, to balance them upon the Access or Desertion of every Fortune good or bad.

Which makes Oaths among Statesmen, upon a true Survey, to signify nothing; at best, more Danger than Profit: Binding only such, as in relation to Impotency or Honesty, stand in least need; and becoming, like Juglers Knots, no ways restrictive to the more potent, who are ever able to elude them by Sights, or break them by Power. Now since *Italy*, for whose Meridian he calculated his Politicks, consists, for the most part, of weak Pieces, it shews him more excusable, if not commendable, in fitting them so accurately to their Practice and Conveniency. And till all Kings agree (which is never to be expected) to keep their Stipulations and Covenants, you cannot think it reasonable that a Subject to the Duke of *Florence* should have advised his Patron to begin; so contrary to the Examples of those Times, as it was known, the *Pope* did then contract an Amity with the *Grand Seignior*, which in Charity, may be thought he meant not to observe, though for his Sake, he suffered himself to be hired to poyson his Brother (fled into *Christendom* for fear of tasting the Fate of the rest, after his Father's Death) and might have been of great Advantage to any, that had designed to abate the *Ottoman* Empire: Now after the Breach of Faith, so contrary to the Promise

mise made to this poor *Infidel*, at his being put into his Hands: and his Holiness's own Interest, in case the *Turk* had invaded *Europe*, it cannot be more Passion than Discretion, to condemn *Machiavel* for his seasonable Advice in relation to the Oaths of Princes.

After all this, he saw *Charles*, the *French-King* lose *Italy*, with the like Facility he had gained it, all the Advantages he might have made being snatched from between his Legs, by the *Catholick King*, and the *Pope* and his Son, by Mistake, poysoned with the same Bottle of Wine, prepared by themselves for others; by which the Father was taken away presently, but the Son, fortified with Youth and Antidotes, had leisure to live and see, what he had gotten, torn out of his Possession, and himself forced to fly to his Father-in-law, the King of *Navarre*, in whose Service he was murdered.

It were heartily to be wished, that unlawful Practices were only vendible in *Italy*, and not the Traffick of all the Courts in the known World: where the Marks, the Text hath set upon *Jeroboam*, who (according to the Dialect of *England*, for I find it not so elsewhere) may be stiled, *The Machiavel of the Jews*, cannot scare Princes out of the same Path: For what King hath failed to set up Altars at *Bethel* and *Dan*, when their Power is in danger, by the People's going to *Jerusalem*? when *Saul* was but a Subject, he sought to the Prophet for his Father's Asses, but after his Assumption to the Throne, a Witch is consulted, about the Success of a Battle. *Christ* saith. *Not many great, or mighty are called*: Men's Outsides, at Court, are soft, but their Hearts (within) seared and hard.

Pride is the Root of all Evil; which Princes do not only foster in themselves, but water by Preferments in all others they find able to promote the

the Ends of it : whose Effects cannot be comprized in a narrower Circle, than the whole Mass of Impieties, Ambition is able to commit : That prompted *Pbocas*, to kill his Master the Emperor ; *Cesar* to ruin the most glorious Republick the Sun ever saw ; it teacheth Children to pull undecently the Crowns from their Fathers Heads ; it is this that fills Hell with Souls, Heaven with Complaints, and the Earth with Blood ; it made *Charles* the Fifth, to arm himself against him, he believed (if he believed any thing) to be the Vicar of our Saviour, and would have led him in Triumph with *Francis* the French King, made his Prisoner the same Year by a like Fate of War : Neither did *Philip* the Second do less than mingle the Blood of his then only Son *Charles*, with the great Quantity he spilt upon the Face of Europe ; yet his Thirst unsatisfied, he set a new World abroad in *America*, which he let run, till it was as empty of People, as himself of Pity. Are not the Heads of Nations presented, by Historians, like that of *John* the Baptist in Chargers of Blood ? Nay, what are Chronicles less than Registers of Murders and Projects to bring them about, to the best Advantage of ambitious Pretenders ? Yet none are so severely blamed that writ them.

I would not be so far mistaken, as to be thought to Apologize for Tyrannical Principles and Practices, knowing they render both Doers and Sufferers miserable : my Aim being only to prove, that if *Machiauel* stood legally indicted, he could not be condemned by those at the Helm in any State, who in all Ages were his Peers, and could not therefore in Equity take up a Stone against him. Bad Advice, without Execution, hurts only the Giver : Besides, I cannot believe, the Generality of those that cry out upon him, in publick, ever saw or read his Writings, but take their Clamour upon trust,

trust, as they do against *Julian*, stiled the *Apostate*, how truly, I leave to such as are better able to judge; than Thousands of Men so impudent as to extend Incomparable Wits upon the erring Rack of common Fame, in imitation of their ignorant Ancestors, who looked upon Mathematicians as Conjurers; though Wisdom hath justified these her Children so far, as to inform the World, that no Learning is a greater Enemy to Falshood than theirs.

Yet *Machiavel* is so modest as to ask, who had not rather be *Titus* than *Nero*? But to him that will be a Tyrant, he proposeth a way least prejudicial to his temporal Estate: As if he should say, thou art already at Defiance with Heaven; therefore to preserve thee in an earthly Power, no mean is left but to be perfectly wicked; a Task not higher to be performed, no not by the worst of Usurpers; it being as far beyond Example, that any Tyrant hath done all the Mischief requisite to his own and Children's Safety, as that the best of Kings have, in any Age, put in Execution all the good. Now of the first he proposeth *Cesar Borgia*, for the most absolute Pattern, who used all Artifices to remove every Impediment standing between him and his Desires, but his own being sick at the time of his Father's Death, which perplexed his Affairs so, as he could not bring in a Pope of his own Faction; for want of which, his so well-built Designs (as he fondly supposed) fell to the Ground, as most of theirs do, that prosecute Empires by oblique Means; into whose Lap Divine Justice not seldom throws Destruction; or some louder Discontents, that over-vote the Pleasure. Ambition takes in the Accomplishment of her Ends.

But since it is sometime the Will of God (for Reasons best known to himself) to give a happy Success to bad Means wisely contrived, why should

this

this *Florentine* be so bitterly inveighed against, who cannot be denied but to have had at least as virtuous Principles, for a Member of the *Roman Church*, as *Alexander the Sixth*, that was Head of it? with whom all Impieties were as familiar as the Air he breathed in, so far, that it could not be so well guessed, when he spake true or false, as by the Abundance of Oaths he used when he meant to deceive.

Worldly-Wisdom is recommended to us in the Person of the *unjust Steward*; and, I pray, what doth *Machiavel* say more of *Cesar Borgia*, but that he was a perfect Tyrant? And if he presume so far on your (better supposed) Honesty, as to propose him for an Example, yet it is still of Evil, and what fitter Pattern can there be for an Usurper, than one of his own Coat.

Neither are the Rules he lays down, waved by the best of Men, if wise; for who executes not ungrateful Actions, by Deputies, acceptable in Person? And all these his Documents he gives only to a Prince; for had he assigned this Practice to a Son, or any else circumscribed in a narrower Room than a Kingdom, he might be more justly condemned: But undertaking to make a Grammar for the right understanding the Dialect of Government, why is he blamed for setting down the most general Rules, and such as all Statesmen make use of, either to benefit themselves, or hurt others? That they make no Conscience of Falshood, is manifest by *Lewis the Eleventh*, that learned Father in King-craft, who pronounced *Him ignorant of the way to Live, that knew not how neatly to Deceive*.

That Breach of Faith in private Persons, is not only destructive to well-being but also damnable, he cannot deny: but Princes pretend larger Charters in relation to a more universal Commerce; which they extend to Embassadors, and Ministers of

of State; as counting all things honourable that are safe: and if this be an Evil, it is the King's, and no way curable, but by the King of Heaven.

To conclude, a Body-Politick is like that of a Man, which when it is all-together, shews outwardly a beautiful and comely Sight, but search into the Entrails from whence the true Nourishment proceeds, and little is to be found but Blood, Filth and Stench: The Truth is, *Macbiavel* is observed to have raked deeper into this, than his Predecessors, which makes him smell, as he doth, in the Nostrils of the Nice and Ignorant, whereas those of more Prudence and Experience, know it is the most natural Favour of the Court, especially where the Prince is of the first Head, of which, such as come in by Succession may abate much.





II.

OBSERVATIONS

*Upon the King of Sweden's * Descent into Germany.*

* [GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS the Great, was Born at Stockholm, and came to the Crown at Seventeen Years of Age. In the Beginning of his Reign he beat the Danes and Poles, over-run the Muscovites, and made an honourable Peace, extreamly advantageous to Sweden: After this, he Married Maria Eleonora, Sister to the Elector of Brandenburg, and soon after engaged Sigismund, King of Poland, who had Designs, by his Alliance with the House of Austria, on the Kingdom of Sweden; and, had not the English and Dutch interposed, had vanquished Poland, with whom he made Peace on Sigismund's renouncing his Claim. Afterwards, being invited by the Protestants, he marched into Germany at the

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Head

Head of Twenty Thousand Swedes, being joined by the English, and in Confederacy with Lewis XIII. of France. In this War he every where almost routed Count Tilly, and was too hard for Wallestein, till at the Battle of Leiplick venturing too boldly, and being but slenderly guarded, towards the Right Wing of his Army, the Left being Victorious, he fell into a Body of Cuirassiers, and was killed in the 37th Year of his Age; who, tho' so young, had approved himself the greatest General of his Time.

WITHIN an Age or two, sometimes more, sometimes less, according as the World is inclined to Happiness or Infelicity, there hath still risen up some ambitious Pretender or other, that hath laboured to build himself a Name by the Effusion of human Blood: And these offering fine Subjects for Discourse and Romances, are, by the Antients stiled *Heroes*; by the Moderns, *Conquerours*, and *Men of High Spirits*. The first of these we hear of is *Nimrod*, branded by God himself: To him *Alexander*, *Cesar*, and innumerable others succeeded, who, for the most part, stand highly registred in Historical Kalendars; because they afford good Pens, an easy way to render themselves immortal, by a near Expression of their Butcheries; when, indeed, they both deserve rather the Curse of Mankind; the one for doing, the other for recommending to Posterity such cruel Examples, without giving them the true Name of *Wolfish Ambition*; which all merit, who infest other's Territories, out of no more pious Reason than Augmentation of Empire: The principal Errand, however palliated (to

(to purchase Partakers) with more plausible and gilded Motto's in their Flags, which they hold out to the People. And I believe, if God had continued the King of Sweden in Life and Success, he had gone as high in Blood, and as deep in Devastation, as his Ancestors and Goths did in Italy, where they ruined such Monuments, as Time could not have yet demolished, but that she received Assistance from their barbarous Hands. And now I have set him under his natural Colours, I am bold to maintain, that he that looks to the End of his Prospective, shall see his Actions reach beyond the Darings of all (in that kind) that ever went before him, as may appear by these Circumstances.

1. He did not fall on Men drowned in Sloath and Luxury, but on a Prince whose Prudence was lately wakened with the Loss of a Crown and his People's Valour new whetted by regaining it. Being so far from wanting all Necessaries for War, that besides new ones of his own, he was Master of all such Magazines, as were provided by the Elector and his Party: So as it may with Reason be believed, that if the Swede's little Finger had been in the Endeavour to lessen the Austrian-Family, when the Palsgrave put in his Hand; the KING long before his Death, had possessed the Imperial Throne.

2. No Party (in any extant Relation I have seen) is heard to call him in: All the Forces he had, or could raise, appearing to the World as inconsiderable; till he had shewed them such a Miracle, as a puissant Army upon one Horse. After whom they ran to gather up the Spoil, who, till then, had their Heels shackled with Caesar's Successes.

3. The Duke of Saxony, the most potent Prince of the Protestant Party, had no stronger Title to his Estate, than what he derived from *Cesar's* Power who had placed him there for the like Fault, in his Elder Branch (which yet remain'd in being to claim his Right) he must have fallen into, had he yielded Succour or Assistance to the *Swedish* Crown.

4. He had seen the King of *Denmark*, coming on the like Errand, baffled ; A Prince inferior to him in little but Valour and Temperance ; having the Sound at command, not to be over-matched with any Advantages the *Swede* could properly have called his own.

5. The jealous Hatred, this and all other Nations have to these Northern People, as desirous by Nature to better their Heaven, with an In-croachment upon Neighbours ; that live under a more auspicious Sun.

6. The new Protests of Fealty made by the Princes and Hans Towns to the *Austrian* Family, procured by his late Victories, the Terror of which had so cooled the Zeal of the People, and evaporated the Heat they formerly were in to regain their Liberty.

7. The Assurance he had, that King *James* of *England*, who refused to bear his own Honour and the Cries of his Children, would never listen to the Voice of a Stranger, that had no better Cards to shew for his future Success, than Valour and good Conduct, in which the old Man had as little Faith as Knowledge.

8. The

8. The *Hollanders*, his most considerable Friends, could not help him, but by way of Diversion ; being far off both in respect of Distance and Quality of their Power ; the States chief Strength lying in Ships, no ways serviceable to the *Swede* in his Inland Expeditions : And to counterpoise this, as if Fate had renounced all Assistance but his own, the Duke of *Lorrain* had cast himself blindfold into the Arms of the *Spaniard* ; with whom was as madly joined the *French King's* Brother, both in Alliance and Person at that time very considerable, in regard of the known Weakness of the King of *France* his Body, and the Surmises of his Sterility, thought to be supplied by the Cardinal's Industry.

9. He could not expect such cordial Help from *France*, as a natural Prince of *Germany* ; because upon Success he was ready to assume the Title of Emperor to himself ; the only Bait likely to draw in the most Christian King. Neither could that Nation be assured, that his Ends attained in *Germany*, he might not be prompted by his good Fortune to invade them, Ambition swallowing all Opportunities of gaining, without the Taste of any former Obligations. And for the *French King's* being chosen by the reformed Princes, Head of the Union ; he knew that King looked upon it, rather as a Scorn put upon King *James* of *England*, for his Neglect, than as an Honour done to himself ; the *Germans* being wholly compelled to it by Necessity, in that Juncture of Occasions.

10. For Money, accounted by all the only Oyl, able to make the Engines of War move, he could not have much, being numbred among the poorest Kings in *Europe*. And to make this Defect the more impossible to be dispensed with, he knew the

Emperor like a *Colossus*, had not only a Leg of Iron, in *Germany*, but one of Gold, in *Spain*, to assist it upon the least Offer of any Motion to offend him.

11. The best he could expect at first (till Success had made him formidable) from the *Landgrave Van Hesse, Witenberg* and the rest of the meaner Princes, was a modest Neutrality: Or if they were so Mad as to rush themselves into a sudden Declaration for him, there was a large Compensation made to the other Side, by the unfeigned Assistance of the Duke of *Bavaria*, who had his Affection newly purchased by the rich Donative of the *Palatinate*, together with the principal Lay-Electorate, which could hold no longer good, than the Emperor was maintained in Superlative Power.

12. It is true, that Count *Wallestein* and the Emperor's *Veteran Militia* had parted from the last Action with some Discontent: But this is so ordinary at the disbanding of Armies, when there is no farther Use of them, that it could not infuse so deaf an ill Spirit into the Generality of the Souldiery, but that the Sound of the next Advance Money would soon cast it out: And, one to command in chief was not hard to be found, where the late Combustions had created so large a Choice.

Had he been beaten, or sneaked out of the Action, as *Denmark* did, such Reasons might have been upbraided to him, as rashly neglected: But since he was able to break through them all, they multiply the Weight of stronger of his own, which led him on against these; not to be found but in his own Head, and the Confidence he had of his Conduct and Valour; doing many things wherein appeared a Hand more powerful than Fortune's;
who

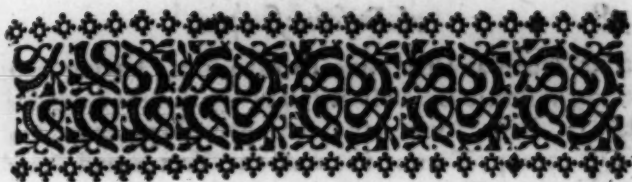
who was not able to make her self Mistress of his Sword, but by taking away his Life: And that done, Victory had been so much his that it could not be denied to his dead Carcass.

If the Strength of the Enemy adds to the Conquest, who could cope with a stronger, and upon more Disadvantages? so as who ever reads the Adviso's of those Times, shall find that the King of Sweden made, not only Rome, but Constantinople, to tremble; the Turk standing in such Admiration of his Valour, that he lost his Activity, and did not only forbear to make Inroads into Germany, which less Occasions he used to do; but gave off all Thoughts of offending others, as if he feared he should have Work enough to defend himself.

And had the Swedish Sword made as deep Impressions in his Empire, as it left in the German, they would have been looked upon as Miracles; and, instead of Antichrist (which by reason of his Success, some Catholics fondly call'd him) he would have been stiled, *The Champion of the Gospel*.

All the Advantage I can find the King had, out of himself, was the Emperor's Ignorance of that common Lesson, so often repeated to the Prejudice of the wisest Princes; That *Slighned Parties are followed with the greatest train of inconveniences, in relation to such as despise them*.

Now if Men esteem of Soldiers, by the Quantity of Blood and Land they have wasted, King Philip the Second of Spain, will out-go them all, in his Conquest of Peru, and the rest of those weak People: But if Reason may be heard, the least part of Germany asketh more Difficulty to reduce it, than both the Indies, or all that Alexander and his like, are able to boast of.



III.

A DISCOURSE

*Upon PISO and VINDEK, who both
conspired the Death of NERO,
though with a contrary Success.*



PISO a Noble-man born, beloved of the People, drawn into the Action rather out of the Persuasion of others, than his own Affection, associated with the choicest Wits in the Roman Empire, followed by the bravest Spirits, and armed with Pretences that were proof against all the Darts Reason or Religion could cast at them; yet miscarried in the midst of these Advantages, falling soon after into the same Grave; he had most justly measured out for Nero.

The Foundation of whose Ruin was laid by Vindex, that had no stronger Materials to work his Destruction, than what he hammered out of his own Invention, and the Advantage he took from the love of a broken Legion, no way considerable in respect of the rest of the Princes Forces, that

that stood at this time firm to him, having had their Affections newly warmed by divers Largeſſes and a daily Impunity; ſtronger Engagements in ſuch corrupt Times, than all the Vertue and Piety incident to Fleſh.

It is true, *Vindex* never lived to ſee the Effect of his brave Attempt, as the moſt ſtately Fabricks are commonly leaſt enjoyed by thoſe that build them: Yet the Reaſons why his Beginnings, did ſucceed, rather than *Piſo's*, may be ſome of theſe.

1. Of which the firſt lies hid in the dark Book of Fatality, where all things are kept from perishing till they are arrived at the utmoſt Period Providence hath ſet them; which is for that time as conſtant in the Preſervation of the Inſtruments of her Wrath, as the Diſpenſers of her Clemency: But when the critical Minute, appointed for their Deſtruction, is come, they lie level with their Feet, whoſe Hands before were not able to reach them.

2. The Manner of *Piſo's* Attempt, which was to aſſaſſinate *Nero*, an Endeavour no leſs indecent for Men of Honour, than unproper for a Tyrant; who as he is an Enemy to all, ſo ought he to periſh by the Hands of all; which, by a clandestine Diſpatch, had not only loſt the Pleaſure, but the Example of their Revenge. Neither was it in any Degree of Poſſibility likely to be concealed, and therefore the harder to ſucceed, having been communicated to ſo many, and of ſo different Tempers, who out of Hatred to others, or Love to themſelves, could not chuſe but reveal it.

3. As the Body of Man, be it never ſo ſound, is maintained in being by Contention of Humours, the Blood flying to the Heart upon any ſudden Aſſault:

fault: But if a Bruise be made in a remote Place, it falls not out so, but affords the virulent Matter Leisure to gather. Thus are bad Princes with more Ease and Safety destroyed by a remote and open Hostility, than a sudden and private Attempt: For, near, Men see daily so many Effects of their Cruelty, that they are afraid, studying more their own Safety than the Freedom of the Common-wealth.

Besides the Familiarity with Tyranny makes it so Domesticall, that those within the Verge of the Court know not well how to live without it: Therefore they must be tender of his Preservation, to maintain their own Power, having rendred themselves either actively or passively as odious to the People as their Master.

4. As any thing that ministers occasion of Discourse, the farther it extends, the more Sound it makes; and he that gathereth Snow, hath a Ball proportionable to the Distance he rolls it: So those that cry out a far off, upon the Abuses of the Court, do not only draw Attention from some about them, but tickle the Ears, and stir up the Spirits of all such as have felt, or do fear the Weight of Oppression. Nay, such Persons themselves as at a nearer Distance, would out of Hope or Fear, labour to quench it, will, a great way off, look upon a Combustion, with Delight: Novelty being of that Nature (especially following things ill) that it raiseth more Expectation of good, than it can destroy.

5. Open Force doth assure the Malecontents, that there is Pretence made of no more than what is cordially intended; to which the soft Whispers of a few Confederates cannot enough perswade:
It

It being the ordinary Practice of tyrannical Governors, by such Instruments to entrap others for whose Lives and Estates they long. But in this Case, Report, that represents nothing in its due Proportion, instead of the Danger that is, musters up all that may be: And in this the concerned Tyrant seconds her, who looking through the false Spectacles of Guilt and Fear, reads his Fortune worse, than possibly it is written, and above Prevention; so far, as though Hope (the least Friend in such Adversities) cannot quite be shook off, she fixeth upon lower Objects than the Continuance of his former Power. This flattered Nero, that though they drove him out of Rome, yet for Pity, or to satisfy his Party, they might be drawn to leave him Egypt quiet: As foolish an Opinion in him, as it had been Madness in them, to think any Power meet to be left in the Hands of an exasperated Prince; whose Revenge cannot be buried but in his Grave, especially if it respects his Subjects: For though himself might be of a Nature to forgive it, those about him cannot, but will be ready to incite him to take it upon all Occasions.

6. Where there are many that conspire, the Apprehension of any one will soon detect the rest; whereas the like Resolution taken by a single Person, and not communicated, seldom fails, being secure from all Fear, and hastened by no Accident but what Opportunity presents.

7. Ill Counsel is rather to be hearkened unto, than none at all; there being a Possibility to mend it with better: whereas dull Suspension looseth Time, a Thing irrecoverable; and doth not only assure the Adversaries, but disheartens Friends,

Friends, giving them Leisure to listen to the free Offers of the contrary Party.

It may be observed in the Fall of Nero, that the meanest Conspiracy is not to be slighted, for in a crazed Common-wealth, the least jangling will bring the Multitude about the Ears of their Governor; who, having offended all, knows not whom to trust, that hath any Power with the People: And this perceived by his own, they desert him, or by his Destruction labour to purchase their particular Safety; For what Hope can another have in him, that distrusts himself?

He that hath lost the Love of his People, cannot be certain of his present Safety or moderate Ruin when it comes; for the most part sudden in regard of his own Knowledge, though presaged and wished by all the World besides.

No Prudence can maintain a Tyrant long in Power; For though he may divert the People from making Inspection into his Disposition, by exposing his Agents to their Mercy; yet at last the Succession of the same Abuses will direct them to the true Cause; which being once discovered to lie in his Nature, nothing he doth shall please, but be suspected for more Evil, than it can in Probability produce: The World's Opinion exercising no less Authority over Kings, than meaner Men. Besides, the delivering up Men in Authority to the Rage of the People, like letting of Blood, may stop the Progress of a present Fever, but much weakens the Power of the Prince, to resist a future Distemper.

After the Disorders of a Tyrant are laid before the Eyes of the People, it turns Thousands his Enemies in an Instant, that out of Custom or Conscience prayed for him the Day before. Who are more solicitous to advance his Destruction,

on, than careful to chuse a Successor that might be fit to govern. Their Discretion extending no farther than their Nourishment, which they only receive from Hand to Mouth. Therefore all the Use that can be made of this popular Monster is, during their first Heat: For, their Expectations deluded (being incapable of Honour or Reward) they are ready, with the Dog, to lick up the same *Nero* they had vomited out. And, that it is easier to expel a Tyrant, than to find a Prince in all Points worthy to succeed, appeared by *Galba*: And by *Otho* we find, when the Multitude are up in Swarms, they care not what Bush they light on.

If *Seneca* had got the Imperial Diadem from under *Piso*, it is uncertain, whether he had been able to have kept it: Virtue having shewed herself as great an Enemy to a fresh Family as Vice; to whom Cruelty is for the most part more necessary than Clemency, especially towards the Nobility, who are observed to carry the most natural Affection to the old Line, that first wound them up to Honour.

I would be loath to blame *Seneca* wrongfully, though the immense Treasure he left behind him doth, not only, by Consequence, accuse him of too much Covetousness, as some Authors are bold to lay Ambition to his Charge; which the worse became him, because impossible to be satisfied but at the Cost of his Maker. But admit this Stoick in outward Profession, though an Epicure in his Gardens, &c. to be as good as he desired to be thought, yet if he had not restored to the *Romans* their lost Liberty, but sought to establish the Government in his own House, he had only imitated their

Charity,

Charity, that take a Slave out of one cruel Family to put him into another, who might in a small Time prove as bad : Or if he had governed moderately all his Life, it had been like the good Day in a Fever, which is so short and uncertain, that it takes away all Taste of Ease and Delight.



Conjectural

...that takes a slave out of one class ...
...only to put him into another, who might in a
...man have given a bad : Or if he had Gover-
...moderately all his life, he had been like the
...and Day as a flower, which is so short and
...Garden, that it takes away all taste of
...the night.





Conjectural QUERIES,
OR,
Problematical Paradoxes,
CONCERNING
REASON, SPEECH, LEARNING,
EXPERIMENTS, and other PHI-
LOSOPHICAL MATTERS.
WITH
Characters, Letters, &c.

By FRANCIS OSBORN, Esq;



CONJECTURAL QUERIES
OR
PROBLEMATICAL PARADOXES

CONCERNING

REASON, SPEECH, ILLUSTRATING
EXPERIMENT, AND PHI-
LOSOPHICAL METHOD



WITH
CHARACTERS, LETTERS, &c.

By FRANCIS OSBORN, Esq;



To his very worthy Friend
Mr. ROBERT WOLSELEY,
Of Lincoln Coll. in OXON.

SIR,



*IF I own the Wisdom and
Wealth of Seneca, as truly as
I do the highest Affection he
pretends to in his Epistles;
this had contained Matter no
less suitable to the Greatness
of your Judgment, than the Obligation I
must ever acknowledge I owe to your Good-
ness.*

*But since I am restrained from the first
by Birth, as I am from the latter by For-
tune; you may yet be wooed to a more cha-
ritable acceptance upon this consideration,
that though the Present be small, it was not
filched from Epicurus, or any other Maga-
zine of Knowledge, than what lies included*

The Epistle.

within my own Invention. Which proves this I send you, as absolutely mine, as ever it was theirs (if any such be) that may have discovered it before I was born. For being acquitted by my Conscience of all Theft in this kind, I take the Recitements of others Opinions, as relating to no greater a Shame in me, than those are obnoxious to, who enriched us with Guns and Printing, because some maintain they were used in China many thousand years before. The ranconter being no less happy than his that stumbled on it at first.

I confess I have been so basely abused by Books, as that I entertain none but upon high Commendations: and those rather New than Old, however the World is pleased to look a squint upon them, as less deserving, though some have appeared of late to admiration, and so far transcendent as I fear our Period is near. Ignorance and Barbarism, being commonly the last subdued before a general Destruction.

Knowledge hath been ever taken for an infallible Portent of Ruin, found so busy a Companion, as she leaves nothing unpried into, in Heaven or Earth towards the Heighths and Depths of which she is not continually rolling her Conjectures and casting her Darts; tenable through no Opinions long, but what she remains fettered to with the strong Chains of the Mathematicks. A Study no less natural than necessary. The imployment of Children in their exactest

The Epistle.

attest Innocency, being to make Houses and raise Pies of Dirt. So as if this inclination were encouraged and supported through the direction of discreet Teachers, these Buds might come in future to yield (without tormenting and subduing their Spirits) more wholesome Fruit than the crueller Culture of the School was ever found yet able to produce.

But I hold it no Prudence here to give a second blow, by which the Idolaters of former Customs may be tempted to a like severity, in case I should mistake; as 'tis very possible I may. The Landskip I endeavour to draw being darkened through Ignorance, Superstition, and what is more dreadful, a thick and obscure cloud of different Judgments so long imbraced for the Goddess of Truth, as none can prosecute the contrary though never so far off, under hope of a milder penalty, than to be sent away naked, and wounded, which cannot but be thought an uncivil kind of Justice, and unsuitable to the Primitive and richer Ages of the World: Where then as few were denied to search as we find now able to determine. Every Sect of Philosophers domineering in his Station.

Yet rather than betray Natural Reason into their hands who desire to cut off all farther Traffick with the Land of Knowledge, I shall leave these Paradoxes, Problems, Queries, Conjectures, or what you please to call them, wholly to your Disposition.

The Epistle.

sure. Being resolved neither to be dejected, nor elated through their Destruction or Preservation. Only I am confident if they can pass with the smallest degree of your Approbation, it may prove a safe conduct in Justice against the severest Censures of others, no less than a perpetual Testimony that I am

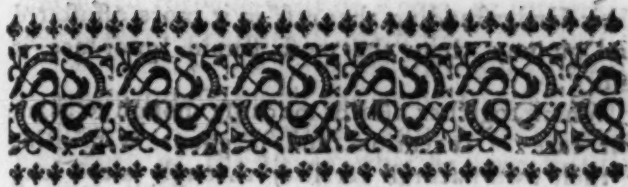
Your faithful Friend

and Servant.

F. O.



Con-



Conjectural Paradoxes

CONCERNING

REASON, SPEECH, LEARNING,

EXPERIMENTS, &c.



MOST Philosophy lies clouded by Disputes, and the Magisterial Determinations of the Schools, from whence it hath, till of late, been thought Presumption to Appeal; though manifest Errors do appear in what they have already judged; and many as material Things passed by under Silence or Restraint, that cannot be denied as fit to be known. Nor are any so likely to discover new Truths as such as march by themselves, and out of the beaten track of others. Curious Ideas being like Precious Stones, sooner stumbled upon and found in Places least looked for, than started by the Direction of any that went before; who have left only discouragement, or at least but a negative or such a perplexed Knowledge, as renders

their Understanding that rest in it more offuscated and gloomy than the most stupid Ignorance it self.

Which together affords me cause enough to think our rare "Inventions and pregnant Wits stifle "their own natural Fertility through a too long "and frequent commerce with Books; not seldom "of a contrary Complexion and Stile to the Readers; yet forced out of Custom to be conversant in them." By which he is brought to Stammer and become so diffident of himself (such Learning lying in Memory the most Pedantical part of Knowledge) as he dares not deliver his own Opinion out of Reverence to Antiquity or any Author's else, but in the same Words he finds it written. The doating upon Foreign Authority keeping us still at a stand; like the Body of *Joab's* Brother, beyond which the *Israelites* would not pass, out of a vain Reverence to their General.

And thus all further prosecution of Knowledge and conquest over Ignorance is obstructed, and Scholars tied to cultivate and confine their Travels within the Circuit of a barren Wilderness stocked with insignificant Terms, and such crabbed Allusions, and improbable Conclusions, that have no better Plea for their Authority, than the Exorbitant Veneration which *Tradition* rather than *Merit*, hath awarded Antiquity above the equal, if not better Judgments found in our Age. Nor is there hope of any further or more happy Progress, till these rotten Carcasses be removed out of the way, or covered from their Eyes that want not Hearts and Abilities to jog on better without them.

The first Man could have at the beginning but this advantage of a Child, that his Organs were immediately fitted and prepared to receive no less than retain Knowledge. Which in an Infant are obstructed.

obstructed through want of Room, or too great a redundancy of Phlegm or Moisture.

For if *Adam* was furnished with more, it must be supernatural, and so far above Human Apprehension, as it is to imagine how he should know his Goods, or the use of what he never had seen or tried, unless we conceive he brought an *Inventory* or *Herbal* into the World with him.

Wherefore according to Human Understanding, *Reason*, like *Fire*, was at the Beginning; but a *Spark*, till through a confluence of all Events happenable to Man, it received Augmentation, as the other did from the supplement of Matter, and having once caught *Paper*, did illuminate the World.

Now though so much Knowledge is not unlikely to be found in the *Creature*, as that with the same Advantages to increase it, they might become more intelligent than still to remain Slaves: Yet I find room for a *Querie*, "Whether this Defect (if capable of that Title) doth not proceed rather from the want of Speech, than Perception? Or whether Humility that arrogates so high as to proclaim it self Lord over all, may not be found in some Persons and Places (as it might not in possibly have been in the rest) little more rational, had it no greater Stock of Experiments, to traffick with, than every respective Individual is able to glean up of himself?" Our advantages proceeding from Commerce, whose Wheel once set a Work, did quickly manifest on which side Gain or Loss lay, the primitive Knowledge of Good and Evil, and before whose Door Sin was first found.

And this *Inspection* into things at the Beginning dim and modest, became by handing from one generation to another, so huge a Mountain in their Estimation who presumed to have made a full and exactest Survey of the Land of Knowledge; that

with the *Giants* of old, they did not only rant it over Men's Persons and Consciences, by proportioning what extent of Worship befitted the *Gods*, but Erected their Pillars upon the Borders of *Philosophy* under such an Imperious injunction, as none, till of late have ventured to discover any thing beyond them; though found in other Descriptions and Relations very false, by multiplying such poor Advantages as Man hath acquired, and depressing greater which do naturally belong to the Creature, who is inspired with the same Breath, inhabits the same Earth, is more healthful and strong; only he seems to come short in Reason. The Original of which I shall make my further Endeavour to discover. And if it prove in the abstract more adventitious than natural, and less beneficial than the Senses, upon whose Ruine she hath built the Foundation, I hope it may hold forth an Use of humility unto us, if not move Pity towards the Creature, who the Apostle justly saith groans for its Deliverance.

It is on all Hands confessed without the least whisper of Contradiction, that "Luxurious, Idle
"and vicious Nations are most Pregnant and Happy in the richest Endowments of the Mind. And
"that it is ordinary with divers in Extasies, Fevers, acute Diseases, and during the Storms of
"Love, Fear, &c. to have their Inventions soar
"higher than in a more entire Health they have
"been found after able to reach." From whence it is deducible, that Reason (for ought we know) may be but the effect of those corporeal Infirmities, from which, without question, it receives Augmentation. Since Wisdom is not found frequently mingled with Strength and Beauty. The richest Endowments unsophisticated Nature appears to own in all things Living besides; whereas some, if not the generality of Men outwardly crooked and

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deformed utter Inventions most neatly composed. The loss and defect in one external Sense or Part making a treble Compensation in the Mind: contrary to Beasts, among whom those of the exactest Features are most useful and docile.

Nor is it probable but such variety of Food separated from the Blood by Fire, and compounded with Sugar, Spices, Salt, Sawces, Perfumes, with all sorts of Viands relating to the high taste, which eaten are convertible into our own *Bodies*, should alter and add to the Faculties of the Mind, and fill us in the Day with some of those rational Raptures we apprehend from the vapours they raise so palpably during Sleep: not to be dynied the effects of a distempered Brain, and Strangers to such *Creatures* and *Persons* as are of more natural Diets, or make their Repast on Herbs and less sophisticated Meats through which Flegm is increased, so known a retarder of Understanding, as to protract the maturity of Children, till by a drier Aliment and unnatural Heat, they are exposed to (especially their Heads) it is consumed; a concurrent Cause of this rational Advantage we pretend to have over Beasts, that wanting the use of Fire, are necessarily more replenished with fluid Humours, and so by consequence less Wise, though far more Agil, Healthful and Strong. Whereas those to whom we allow the largest proportion of Understanding, are weak, meager, and still under some course of Physick, which may pass for another cause of Knowledge; the Operations of the Mind being most prevalent in decrepit Bodies.

The same is incident to Wine, that doth not seldom inspire a Clown with Civility, a Coward with Valour, the most sordidly Covetous with Liberality; and (what is most conducible to the Assention in Hand) a Fool with a larger Proportion of Wit, than he had, though unable to reduce it in-

to a Habit, by reason of some Obstruction or Leakage in his Organs. From whence it is apparent, that Fancy and Conceit may be gratified by the Prejudice of the Senses, no less than by the usual practice of Students, Poets and Accomptants that use all the Endeavours to exclude and stifle the Ideas both of their Eyes and Ears, whose Diversions they can by no means admit without hazarding the happy Success of all they are in labour to bring about. Whereas Beasts, by reason of their continual Fears, find Leisure to be attentive to nothing but Sense. Like a Town besieged, wherein all other Arts Cease, but what may contribute to Relief and Preservation, because Hearing and Smelling are their chiefest out-Guards, and without which they cannot in safety gather their Food. Nor doth their Care extend beyond this for want of that Spur of Necessity (formed through the mediation of their own Arts and Nature) with which Men are pricked on to new Inventions. Being at better Leisure and more Security. Able (standing in little Awe but of their own Species) to consume those Spirits in internal Contemplations, through which both themselves and their Fellow-Creatures are rendred more miserable than by Nature, without this Improvement (of what they call Wisdom) they needed to have been; whilst the other Animals are forced to dissipate them amongst their Senses only to purchase Food and Safety. Yet the Knowledge so much boasted of, is no more Ours than Honey is the Bees, before picked up out of the less-erring Practices of the more innocent Creatures, from whence they have deduced their best Principles to the very Arts used by themselves in the Preservation or Destruction of their own kind. And these hoarded up in Memory, the Magazine of by-past Events, though possibly at first no more retentive in Man's Head than Beasts, 'till by the

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Fumes of the former mentioned Excess, ours become so oily like a Pot-lid, and apt for Receipt, as nothing worthy Observation could escape without leaving an Impression behind it. And, in this Mold, with the help of Fire, and a continual Refining through Time, the purest Reason, so much relied on by Statists and Politicians came at first to be cast.

And that this is not obtruded upon belief under a single Testimony, it may be found the Opinion of the *French Nation*, where they have not a more apposite expression for a Fool than that his Head is ill made. No weak argument of an universal Belief, that Midwives skill doth highly conduce to an Advancement or depression of Wisdom in a Child. And from hence I have been led to this Wish, that the like Office might be performed on the behalf of a young *Ape* (of the Kingdom of *Congo*, of which some Years since I saw one in *England*, that bare a Symmetry, if not throughout, yet very little differing from a Childs) whose Skull being kept from a too sudden closing by Heat, swathing, and the rest of the ligations used by Nurses to Infants might not unpossibly acquire Reason, which once attained, the impediments to Speech, (whose principal cunning lies in a Musical Division, or mincing a continued Sound into Articulate Notes) would be no sooner discovered than removed: We enjoying many things under the Favour and endeavours of Reason, far more difficult and remote from the Confines of Nature, than the Coinage of Languages rendred Apparent through the Multitude of them met with in the World. And this once acquired, though by chance and not altogether consonant to the exact Pattern of Nature. Custom, assisted by Imagination might render diffusive for the future. As I believe not only many of our new purchased,

chased Qualities, but divers of those, Man's curiosity hath imprinted upon his own Kind or others, are already become manifest in a succession of Dogs whelped without Tails. To which mutilation (at first no question purely Humane, or meerly accidental) Nature hath been so Indulgent already, as instead of an unsightly Bob, to form a sharp comely Bone, like the Scut of a Deer.

Now since we are able to add to, or diminish from Natures Work, both in reference to Body and Mind it cannot appear improbable, that many alterations (perhaps greater than we are able to imagine, or ready to believe) have had their Flux and Reflux often repeated, or changed since the beginning. Which may render it no improbable Opinion, (but as true as formerly it hath been common) that Apes were of the Seed of *Cham*, or else the by-blows of some Wild stock of Humanity: The Characters of whose kind remaining no less manifest in their Bodies, than Affections to Women: Of which there are so many living Witnesses, as it were superfluous to endeavour to prove it. Only this may be added as a further Testimony: That my self have seen two Monkies that for many Years did not fail to have duly a Lunary Purgation.

Nor is this any rare Discovery, but cited as a Report by the Lord Montaigne in his Essays, no less than we find it in the usual practice of the Almighty in the Scriptures, To punish a Sin in the Succession of a Family, as he did some with short Life, others with Leprosie, &c. The recital of which I will fully Omit. it being my task rather to propose than Determine.

And if any understand what is said here in a more positive Sense, they abuse themselves no less than Wrong me; who have no Stronger Assertions to justify this than my weak Conjecture, which is, than

that if God laid the Deprivation of Reason upon these Monsters (for other they cannot appear to be, bearing a shape and owning Gestures as various from the rest of Animals, as their Conceptions are Remote from the prudence of a Man) "For any peculiar Offence, or that human Lust did cause it, by casting Seed into an irrational and improper Soil, there lies no cure for this bestiality if not in Heat." Cold being a heavy Enemy to activity of the Mind, though a tryed Friend to Strength, and a continuer of Perfection. As Heat on the contrary melts and refines the Spirits into a more rational Temper. The first of which is exemplified in Sheep and Kine, which though useful, cannot be excluded the Catalogue of the most Simple: For exposing their new-fallen Young to the injury of the Weather, their Pores become sealed up so close as the Gross and Flegmatick strangle the purer Spirits only capable of that vivacity and cunning found in those Creatures forced to use Stratagems in the gaining of their Food, whose Whelps are housed in Dens and Thickets. Nor are the foggy Humours in those Creatures rarified by Sweat, most proper to the Heads of Men, than in Horses, being rather squeezed out by Labour, than distilled gently by Drops, through which Nature obtains an opportunity to pick and choose, who-uncompell'd will part with nothing but what is bad or superfluous.

Now if the Head be capable of molding into one Figure more apt for the Production of Reason, than another (as it is on the side of common Experience confessed) then can as little Doubt be made but that it must needs have been lit upon in a far less revolution of Time, than the World hath already passed over, if certain of her own Chronology, which some have extended many thousand of Years beyond what by Faith we are obliged to be-

believe. And Wisdom once attained could never be lost; since (as it is reported of the *Elixer*) she receives Augmentation and Improvement from every Event. And because our greater security and variety of Food hath suffocated and abated so much of our Sense, as it is, in no proportion able to find Employment for our Fantasie, (against whose Nature it is to be idle) as that more intire may do in the Creature; Man is continually ruminating of what is past, or attentive on what is present, and by comparing of these, is in some Mediocrity taught to determin of the Future. Having Wisdom or Folly objected to him, according as the Conjecture doth quadrate with Truth, and the concurrence of a happy Success. Whereas the rest of Animals not being able to estate their Young, and such as succeed in their dear bought Experiences, (if not for want of Memory the Mint of Knowledge, yet out of an incapacity for Discourse, and disability to imploy such Arts as are only proper to Societies limited by *Laws*) become stunted in their Knowledge; and without Improvement, not owning a larger Stock than the Brevity of a turbulent Life is able to accumulate, for want of Words, which coined into *Questions* and *Answers*, are only able to Barter our own, and purchase the Wisdom belonging to others.

Now if any think People were born Wise at the first, (I mean in relation to the Understanding now currant) they cannot but alter their Opinion upon Contemplation of the vast Improvement one Age makes of what went before, and how many new and more useful *Arts* are now as it were daily invented.

And as the want of Words is a total Eclipse of any nearer dawn or further Progress in the Creature towards Reason; so we find the confusion of Languages no small *Remora* to the enlargement of

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Man's: The which (as is observable in some *Plagues* else) though immediately poured on us by God for Sin, have their radical Cause yet extant in Nature it self: so a Variety in *Dialects*, may by such Probabilities as these seem to be occasioned, Speech being but an Appellation of things of which Providence hath bestowed many in one place, denied to others, a *diversity of Languages* must needs attend as a necessary Consequence. Made yet more various and less intelligible from moisture and drowth; through whose Mediocrity or Excess, Sound is rendred either Liquid or Mute, proportionate to the Contraction or Extention of their Organs who do, or may hereafter inhabit the Place. That cannot but naturally own the Causes of such Effects. Some pumping their Words out of their Throats, others lower. As I knew a tall *Scotchman* allowed a Pension from King *James*, that could frame a *Voice* at the Mouth of his *Lungs*, seeming to be remote from the Ears of the nearest By-stander. A Fallacy no less likely to be in practice with the Priests of *Apollo* than the Original of many miraculous Narrations of old. And through this variety of Tone and Pronunciation, it often comes to pass, that an *Englishman* is not able readily to converse with a Stranger in one and the same *Latin*. From whence we may modestly observe, that Nature had the *Confusion of Tongues in Potentia*, before God reduced it into an *actual Plague*. Who did not then create it anew, no more than he did the *Rain-bow*. But did only accommodate this Punishment to his present Purpose.

Now though the multiplicity of Idioms may in some part Cloud our Knowledge from the Experiences to be gained by Strangers, yet the Time usually spent, and the hardship endured at School to dissipate these *Mediums*, and to learn to see through

through them, may not unpossibly be Heavier and more tedious than the Curse it self.

It being likelier to have been the Voice of Custom than Reason that fonted a bare Knowledge in Tongues with the Title of Learning. In the Prosecution of which the Spirits of Children are blunted, and Wit exchanged for insignificant Terms, and a stupid ignorance of all things else, under the Tyrannical Regiment of an ignorant Pedagogue. Who if good for any thing, that Art must needs go so averse to the Grain of his Understanding, as he cannot but be a meer Emperick in it. Apparent in the most, because seldom undertaken, but as a last Reserve, and after more easie and thriving Professions have been tried. Where if the Salary prove not more necessary to his Fortune, than so unmanly an Erudition doth to the miserable Child, 'tis easie to guess who drove the Bargain. And this Plague past some to Bail themselves out of the Deserts of Want, and the Sons of others less needy to attain an insight into such Tongues as our Ancestors Folly, not Reason, prompted them to, prefer before Experience the Dialect of the World, and with which you may Travel farther and in more security than with all the Learning in *Europe*.

The Child now in his most Docile Age to study Men, and softest Temper to take the impression of Patience and Compliance, is by a learned Tutor and brazen-faced Impudence gained in the Schools swept and garnished to receive a Seven-fold more wilful and indomitable ignorance in relation to what is convenient and becoming a Citizen of the World. A false Opinion of what he hath not covering from his apprehension such defects as really he hath.

Such as make Learning a full employment have their Judgment so over-awed by Antiquity, that like

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like Players they dare present nothing in Publick, but what their Poets have left them Written. And if any exception can be made against that general Rule, which concludes a too long continuance at the University no great advancer of parts, it will be found amongst such as passed under the notion of Rascals and Libertines. It being obvious to Proof (if I were willing to Register those glorious Names under such a monstrous Head) that none have graced Learning more than some the University hath exploded. Invention being an Art of too noble a Nature, to be learned under an Apprentiship, or the great restraint of the Schools, that spoil and dead the fresh and piquant taste of later and new Wits by putting them into Old Forms, patched up with Sentences, which doth unavoidably make a Rent in the Author's stile. It being impossible for one to Write or behave himself suitable to the gusto of all, or of the Major part that hath not spent his time in a more universal Commerce than the guise of an Academy is able to afford. And if any doubt of this Truth, shew the Infidel a meer Scholar in the company of Ladies; or (that failing to converse him,) a managing his Horse or Estate after the old Idolater his Father or Uncle is dead; who thought no other Calves deserved to be Worshipful that had not learned to bleat after the Mode of *Dan* or *Bethel*.

The ancient, and indeed most natural Tryal for Land in this Nation (since Strength and Valour measures out the Livelyhood and Place of Abode to every Creature) was by Combat: At this Day reduced into the Art of *Fencing*, whose exactest Professors are not seldom confounded and beaten out of their Play, by an *active Country-man*, that owns no more cunning than a robust Arm, and a quick Eye is able to inform a Cudgel withal, easily

sily found in every Wood: because managed contrary to a *premised Method*. The practice of the Science, (far easier called *Noble* than proved so) had only acquainted the *Fencer* with, who becomes further to seek, and is put in a greater Disarray through this more natural, but less methodical Way, than another possibly might have been, that deals his Blows by a less artificial Direction. The Faculties of Soul and Body being observed at long running to receive seldom Amendment, often Detriment from the Restrictions of *Art*: unless in things like *Painting* meerly delusive, or *Grafting* and *Planting* wholly, laborious. These being Imbellishers, if not Restorers of Nature, whereas the Liberal Sciences (as the Schools call them) labour to confine Experience within general Rules, though found to be as diffusive and numberless as the Accidents and Events depending upon Motion. And through whose Mediation alone, Reason is capable of a further Improvement.

As Man's refusing no nourishment hath already been owned (and I doubt not but under the favour of some seeming probability at least) for an Advancer of that Wisdom we transcend the rest of God's Creatures in. So I presume it may as rationally be proposed for an occasion of long Life: since through so various a change of Meats the several Humours of our Bodies are in a continual Vicissitude so stimulated and held in such an equal Contest: as neither Heat nor Cold, Drowth nor Moisture are suffered to exceed that just proportion Nature hath assigned to maintain all things in Being: Few Creatures attaing to so long a continuance as Elephants, Horses, &c. most Domestical with Men, which by reason of the great variety of Herbs they feed on in Summer, and their dry Diet in Winter (noted by that *honourable Restorer of Philosophy*, (the Lord BACON) for a great prolon-

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of Life) do not seldom reach the most ordinary Ages of Men. And amongst Birds, those of Prey, Parrots and Geese; the first feeding on all sorts of Flesh, nor will they refuse Fish upon Occasion; As the second of every thing eatable by us; The third upon what is held venomous to human Nature, besides Grasse and Corn. Whereas Doves, Sparrows, &c. are of short continuance. To which I shall only add, in favour of my former Assertion, that the Fowls first mentioned come short in understanding of nothing that hath Wings.

I heard it first affirmed by a French Student in Physick, and known it verified by my own Experience in relation to many, that all Fowl may be eaten, (if not for Delight) in a Siege, or time of Necessity, without Danger. Opinion rather than Nature, having caused a Disgust generally arising against some (of themselves) delicate Meats, as my self can attest, for Young bald Buzzards, Sparrow-hawks, Owls, &c. Together with a number of Things more an effeminate Niceness hath exploded our Tables. Yet in the meantime Mushrooms Frogs, Whelks, Snails, &c. have crawled into the Dishes of Princes, and are daily eaten in their Courts for Dainties, which amongst other Viands not in use amongst our Ancestors, are not unlikely to occasion other Vapours than their more unsophisticated Food did Alembeck the Heads of such orderly Persons withal, whose Dreams if not Waking Imaginations must needs differ from ours. As I can instance from a repeated Experiment of my own, who encouraged through the former mentioned *Frenchman's* Confidence, did eat at Supper a considerable Quantity of the Green-wood-spice with the Long-Tongue. After which I found my Sleep taken up with uncouth, and (as I then apprehended) no impertinent Fancies, the Cause I made a second Experiment, with the like success. From whence
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may be deduced, that if our Nourishment, or any outward or inward Application or Digestion may be of Force to inspire Sleep with various Dreams, which remembred Waking, seem not unworthy our own most serious Meditations no less than the Attention of others more Wise. Man alone that hath extended his Food over all Things eatable cannot but participate of every Effect they are either in gross or respectively liable unto, and so capable of a more diffusive Knowledge than the Creatures, not able to digest that variety Custom hath rendred the Stomachs of Men familiar withal. Theirs being commonly of one Temper, and without mixture. Ours hot and cold, dry and moist, bordering upon the next Confines of Poison; and not seldom a Composition of all Contrarieties together. Now, if our Bodies (as Dr. Brown * no less wittily than truly saith) *are in a small revolution of time licked from our Trenchers*, why may not what we eat, work as effectually upon our Spirits as Flesh, and as well waking as asleep.

Upon the first view of *Cornelius Agrippa's* Vanity of Sciences I did applaud his diligence, in becoming so versed in every Profession, no less than his resolute Detection of their Abuses: By which he confirms me in the Opinion, that what we esteem Wisdom is of no more signal Advantage (as I have often said) than what is deducible out of the Weakness of others. Yet upon inspection into the Bottom of his reprehensions, I find the World is held up and kept in plight merely by Cheating: So as those Trades he hath reduced under a Numeration are not only guilty, but himself, and all such as make it their Pastime if not their business to be septical in what is generally looked upon as certain; and to fish for more pro-

* See his *Religio Medici*.

bable Truths in the Depths of Nature. Where nothing is found pure without mixture, (if we may not with Reverence say Sophistication) to her very products of Life and Death. Since the one would be as far to seek of any Content in the absence of Hope, as the other of Bitterness out of the presence of Fear. Now since the Mother of all Things useth such flights to flatter her Children into the act of Generation, for her own Sake of Continuance, and for the same hath represented Death in the most odious Aspect, to terrifie us out of the desire of the *Grave*, (which though opposite to her present intention, cannot but be as necessary to a future, and that which Religion teacheth is only capable to make us in the least measure happy) how should her Creature Man produce more useful, or gather more lasting Fruit than those of *Sodom*, that vanish upon the offer of Fruition. since the most beneficial Calling or Employment is incapable of affording a more honourable Salary than Industry can worm out of the Wants of others? From whence we may safely affirm that Sin is the chiefest Task-master, since the most are busied about what is destructive, Superfluous, or Uncertain. And to remove this from Vulgar Understandings the best and readiest Chapman for all things adulterated in reference to Honour, Profit, and universal Good and Tranquility, the preservation of which hath diminished much of the Natural Stock belonging to particulars. Such ranting Terms as *Agrippa* mentions, are stuffed into all Sciences. Through which the most Familiar things are rendered unintelligible without a Lexicon. And in no other respect useful than like Gaudy Shells and Glistering Stones to adorn the Fountains of Learning towards the gratification of their Eyes, who led by the Ocean of Books that daily issue out, come to visit them like the
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Heads of Nilus. Though such Canting cannot but be Destitutive to nearer Relations, by which every Profession is furnished with an Opportunity of Deceit, to the end of the Chapter of Trade. The continuance of which, renders the Buyer oftentimes further to seek in the Knowledge of the Name, than the Thing. An inconvenience so visible and Epidemical, as it could never have come under my Pen, had it continued within the Circle of Men Obnoxious to the like Fault, and not fallen so heavy upon Children, whose misery no less than loss of Time, I have not yet forgot; indured and spent upon forms little different from those of a Gally, to no more thriving an intention in reference to the Publick, than Apothecaries paint and adorn their Shops which is to delude the Ignorant, and hide from Inspection such Arts as lie more in Parade than Substance. The occasion not only of a greater expence of Years in this Limbo, to the loss of the more useful Vision of Experience, but a smaller proficiency in Learning, such being held so long viewing the Superscription, as small leisure (if any desire) is left to consider the contents. Nor doth the universality of this abuse render it more tolerable than the multitude, as well as variety of Company can the pains of Hell. Learning running in this course so contrary to what she professes, which is to render Reason more plain, that she brings, like *Eve*, a tattered Apron to cover it.

Though Chast-Sones may appear of too weak and soft a temper to perfect a Fabrick, yet they become useful and necessary to mark and delineate the first Grounds for the greatest and most exact Designs: So Ideas the Embrio's of Knowledge, are not seldom found in Heads apter for Conception than Production. It being a labour proper and peculiar to *Jupiter* alone to be at once delivered of

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so exact a *Minerva*, and so strongly armed as may be proof against Detraction and Emendation.

Yet rambling Wits ought (in my poor Judgment) to be indulged, because by crumbling their Conjectures on all Subjects, they have in every Age further enriched the World, than solidier understandings are known to have done. Which may appear upon Trial fitter for Nurfes than Mothers, whom in a short time they teach their Children to forget, and call that by their own Names, which never cost them more Pains than to educate and cloath suitably to the apprehensions of Men. A Truth so manifest, that if all the Arts (not to mention the Altars) were forced to refund what hath been primitively borrowed from the Poets, they would (if not be naked) want many of their richest Ornaments. And if we call to account who first did embellish our Language, we shall not find them amongst the greatest Clerks, but such as were more conversant with Men than Books. For though the first, like flegmatick Cattle, hanging their Noses still over their Tables, may appear more plump and voluminous, yet such as with the Eagle survey the World, cannot but be more active and Exemplary.

Nature holds out Proof against all constraint. For if violated in one sense, it is still for a gratification of some other passion or affection, at the present more prevalent. Conies, Ferrets, &c. do not seldom devour their Young, but 'tis always for want of Water or Meat. Nor are Women (out of Fear and Shame of what Law hath rather forged than found in the Records of Nature) less cruel to their Children, when squeezed between the Bark of Reproach, and the dreadful Tree of Destruction, they make them away.

For though Nature hath placed Mother and Child in a relation next in Blood; She hath re-

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moved them many Degrees off in that of Affection, ever most prevalent in reference to themselves; especially when all Hope determines as it doth here.

To conclude, Self-Murther (as we call it, though reckoned amongst the highest Results of Valour) being still to avoid a Present, or put to silence all expectation of future Misery, esteemed more than Death may no more than the rest be contrary to the Award of this universal Mistress whose highest Intention is well-being, no more than it is against Reason of two Evils, to make choice of the least.

No Element is found liable to a more general Diminution than it is subject to an universal Excess. Manifest in the Sea, that receives not any Augmentation from the greatest Confluence of Land Floods. The Reason is, that her Comings-in are mathematically adjusted to her Layings-out. All possible Abatements in one Place being re-imburs'd in another, by a continual Bartering and Exchange. From whence through a natural *Chymistry* so much is commuted or calcin'd as only makes good the Principal Stock without incroachment upon Superfluity or Want.

Such as seek further after their own Original, or are in Quest of a remoter Cause than God, prosecute a no less impertinent Study and from whence no more certain Solution can be expected than Conjecture is able to return their Curiosity, who endeavour to find out what Mutations may succeed after Death hath determined their Speculation shall cease. It being equally impossible to discover our first Production as for a Child without Direction to know the Midwife that brought him into the World or the precise part of it whereon he was born. Wherefore out of the power of any thing but Omniscency to extend a Pedigree beyond the Line of ordinary Generation.

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That related by *Moses* pointing more to Obedience, and an exact Observation of the Sabbath (not till long after the Creation indulged through any reveal'd Practice) than the fomenting of Understanding not improperly alledged for the Discoverer if not the Occasion of Infelicity ; Man remaining in a more entire Tranquillity under a calm Ignorance than such a turbulent and indeterminable Knowledge. Which like the Aprons it it first produced, is patched up with so many Leaves of contrary Operations, Ends, and Applications, that under pretence of a Covering for our Shame, it doth daily reveal more Mischief, and is by reason of a Subtilty learn'd from the Serpent, able to conceal greater Malice, Sin and Wickedness (the Original of Infelicity) than Naked-mankind had ever been capable of without it. So as no Thanks remains due to it, but what may result from the Abbreviation of Life. It being an undeniable Truth, that the Production of every Child is, if not an Advancer of the Monarchy of Reason in its own person, the doubted Subject of others Deceit, and Oppression. Humane Wisdom being of little larger Extent, than what it is able to purchase and find room for through an Incroachment and Advantage made and taken of others Folly and Defects. And from this the whole World comes to be so universally inhabited, every Family seeking rest by Evasion. It being as natural for Strife to abound where Want is, as for Strength to prevail. Wherefore Sin must needs be an Effect if not of Eating, of Excess : Through which Man out of Love, for himself came to rob others, and to obviate the Differences, could not but arise from Inequality in Strength, Appetites and Desires, Government was instituted. Towards whose Favour all Laws both Civil and Divine are either taught, or do naturally incline. Yet if any in Curiosity desire

to make Scrutiny into their own Original, I cannot but with *Solomon* send them to the Insects for their further Satisfaction, and perswade them to be more studious after the Causes of such Animals as the Sun doth yearly create or regenerate. And to enquire whether matter may not be so prepared and adapted by us as it shall be capable of Animation through a propensity to that regular and even Proportion of Weight and Measure, naturally required by the first Agents of Life. Nor can any Cause of Discouragement be well apprehended in the Prosecution of Life's Original, through a more curious Inspection into the Production of Insects, which once perfectly survey'd and found out, cannot but open a Window towards the prospect of our own Beginning. Since he that hath discovered the Spring by which a small Watch is invivified, not to be denied the nearer Workmanship, cannot in reason be far to seek what causeth and continues the Operations of a Church-Clock; their Motions being one and the same, no less than their Engines, though bound up in a smaller Volume, and supported by more Legs and Feet. Nor are there found above one or two considerable Obstructions lying in the way of this Endeavour. And those no further binding than a Commission received from Custom hath power to oblige. Of which the first is an implicit and blind adhering to the Votes and Presidents derived to us from Antiquity, not considering there may not unpossibly lie as vast a World of Truth beyond this rotten Bar, as Experience hath shewn us of Land and Nations, which never fell within the Compass of the Old Maps or these Writers Cognizance. And as this renders the further Endeavour after Knowledge, a Lost-labour in the Conceit of Dunces; so our Torrify'd-Brain'd Zealots, though as great a Mistake in Scripture apprehend it as damnable. Yet the Reason of the first, no less than

than the Consciences of the latter might receive Satisfaction from Dr. *Hackwell's* Apology, were they capable of it. To which may be added, that since many Words and Actions recited of the Patriarchs, do in all Judgments deviate from the exacter Lines of Mortality (the Principal, if not the only End of their Manifestation.) What Caution can be given, or Assurance taken for their Infallibility in Philosophy? the Inculcation of which was never intended. What is found said in Relation to it, rather accommodated to the vulgar Opinion, than any Imperative Truth. From whence may be gathered, that *Joshua's* Bidding the Sun stand still, is no more Argument for the Motion of it, Than *Jacob's* deluding his Brother may be pleaded in the Justification of Mine. Wherefore, He that out of a venerable Esteem of the Sacred Text, gives Credit to a Prolongation of the Day, and so a full performance of all the End and Purposes for which the request was made, it matters not in relation to Faith, whether it resulted from the *Sun's* or the *Earth's* Motion. *Joshua* being the General of an Army not a professed Philosopher. So no less incapable of a Mistake in the Mathematicks than *Elijah* was in the Calculation of God's Servants whom he summed up in his peculiar Person, till his Arithmetick was better regulated by the Essence of Number, &c. Nor did our *Saviour* discountenance this Opinion, when He according to the usual Mode of the Place, did lift up his Eyes towards Heaven, Though he did know, and Teach us That the Father was not only resident in Himself, but together with all Things In and Under the Earth. As for Other Rubs lying in the Way of a further Inquisition after Knowledge (all being readier to cast Reproach and Ink in the Face of a Projector, than to assist for the present, or help in the Future, unless after

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Death)

Death) To Improve to the best Advantage what perhaps he has not strength alone to produce. I look upon them, in Some as a Design to guard their Callings from Inspection: And in Others as an Obstinate Ignorance engendred out of Shame to Confess Themselves no less than their Teachers, to have for so many Ages, been Promoters Of, and satisfied With what doth now plainly appear to be meer Figments, &c.

Fancy is the Mould and Pencil that Shapes the Form, and casts the Colour upon Man and Beast, according to the Pattern presented to it by the Senses. Though it may be look'd upon in the Schools, under an inferiour *Notion*, where the Custom is, to be most Fruitful in Terms, when they are most Barren of Understanding tying Knot upon Knot, when she finds her Nails too short, for the unravelling of the First. Especially upon his Endeavours to enlarge *The Excellencies of Man* (whom in a high Rant she styles a *Little World*) above his *Fellow Creatures*. And to make this Good, places in one part of his Head, a Receptacle for Memory, and others for Invention, Reason, &c. Besides a number of Mansions more scituated in the Heart for Vertues, Passions, and Affections. Though upon a strict Scrutiny the same Goods may be found in the Beast, and far more useful, and less contaminated through a Greasy-Diet, and exorbitant Pursuit after Pleasure, by which Men become worse than Beasts, gratifying their Taste at the Prejudice of all the rest of the Senses. the Natural Guards of Safety, yet manifest amongst the more temperate *Indians*, reported (like our *English Crows*) to smell Gunpowder at a great Distance. gaining nothing by the Change, but an *Imperf. & Reason*, which with That *Inchanted Horn* blown by the Satyre, doth terrify more than Confirm or Resolve, such as own and make use of it. Yet we pass over

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in the Creature, greater and more certain Advantages, without Notice or under Contempt. Forgetting, That if we allow them Fancy, which like a *Looking-Glass* doth not only retain the outward Figures Sense presents us with, but doth reverberate those Censures upon it, as are observed to perplex or quiet the Passions in both; What huge Advantage is left Man to boast of, more, than that it may be better situated, or is of a greater Circumference in Us than Them? Growing like the Christalline Humour in the Eyes, quicker from a Variation of Objects. And hence cannot be denyed to result all the Wisdom discernable in both, with which by reason of Discourse, We are able to make the louder Noise, though They are not found quite silent, and no less ready than able in case of Danger, to *advise one the other*, as every Fowler can upon his Knowledge attest. Yet the whole Extent of both our Capacities lies in no larger a Circle, than that of Others Follies. Only in Things not yet fallen within the Compass of Experience, and in relation to Prognostication, or Perdition, the *Creature* hath the Preheminence, out of a more accurate Vivacity in Sense.

The World labours of a *Double Quartane*, wherein the Number of Good Days (if any be) are far exceeded by the Bad. The serenity of the Spring being over-voted through the scorching Heat in Summer, and the Cold in Winter. Besides the Interruptions met with arising from her own private Distempers. The same dismal Fatality attends Youth and Age. In which Sicknes and other Calamities suitable to both Seasons, causeth in all not only a Necessity, but in some a Desire to put themselves upon the Tryal of Death, and return again into the Lap of that Earth, to and from whence all Things do in a certain Vicissitude Go, and Come; which may authorize a Belief " That

“ all things were not created for their own sakes,
 “ but the meer Interest of Nature, which abhors
 “ to be Idle, or to leave any in Impregnant Con-
 “ dition.” And from hence may arise another
 Conjecture; that the Moon no less than the Stars
 may be as well replenished with Inhabitants as the
 Earth, and subject to the same Changes in rela-
 tion to what it produceth, though stable and so
 long permanent it self, as God in his Eternal De-
 cree hath determined they shall remain, being sub-
 ject to no Dissolution, but from the Force of that
 Command which did at first establish them toge-
 ther with all things extant. Among which, though
 some are observed to *Wear out and perish*, they are
 as it were but the *External Ornaments and Household-
 stuff* which within a short Revolution of Time do
 receive a fresh Renovation from the Sun, the high-
 est and most splendid Result of God's Beauty our
 Mortal Eyes (unsupported by Faith) are able to
 Discern.

Which may afford Cause of Pity for some of the
 Heathen that made it the Object of their Worship,
 who finding it the Cause of such visible Resurrecti-
 ons presumed it might be the Original of all Things.
 Imagining the Power of Continuance and Preser-
 vation equal to that of Creation, not being able
 to see higher, for want of the Light of *The Word
 of God*.

It may be no Improbable Paradox, That where
 the Earth's Magnetical Effects cease, There some
 other no less active Power begins to operate with a
 like Motion another way. Which granted, it can
 be no prodigious Conjecture that such Birds as are
 observed to Inn or Board in this Clime only for
 some certain Months, maintain a like Temporary
 Commerce with other Planets, as they are found
 to do amongst us, according to the respective Ad-
 vantages Nature hath taught them to make of
 Times.

Times and Seasons. And that their Passage, is, without much Difficulty may be asserted, from the punctual Days they keep yearly to Come and Go in. Not possibly to be observed were they obnoxious to any Obstruction from Wind and Weather, or the least other Contingency lying in their Road: which the Revolution of a shorter Space than Men are found to live could not chuse but discover. And that the *Place they come from*, relates to the Earth, admits the most probable Tryal from us, which being an Island may best observe whether they do appear first by the Sea-side, or in the Midland: and if the latter (as I have heard it often affirmed, the *Cuckoo* is universally seen the second of April) The Assertion may be allowed, in Reason, the Sentence of Probability, if not of an unquestionable Truth, that Woodcocks are some Years in great plenty by the Shore in *Norfolk* cannot be denied: But yet it is as manifest, that at the same time their Appearance is as numerous in the most In-land Counties. Nor is it necessary that they should all descend in a Line. Though Thousands of Feldefers and Thrushes have been seen within the compass of a Mile, and none round about. Nor doth Wearisomness appear about any, but such as come off from the Sea; (which may not unpossibly have mistaken their Way) or any Signs of a New Resurrection, their Plumage being smooth, and Bodies plump; so that I my self have seen both Swallows, and Hobbies, build and tread upon their first Appearance, as if they had no other Business in this World than to Lye-in, and produce their Young; as Fishes are noted to change their Coast upon the like Errand, &c.

I believe it possible for Birds, not of the same Kind and Plume to Engender with Success, and to an huge *Imbellishing of Nature*, and as great an Improvement of her Store. And this was, by some

Acquaintance of mine put under Experiment (before these Wars,) that had Large Cages of Wiar, wherein were put together only Hens of some sorts, and Cocks of another. How it did answer Expectation I know not, yet am confident it might succeed, especially in reference to those nourished through a like sustenance, since my self saw an Hawk owned the *Plume and Shape* between a *Hobby* and a *Tassel-Gentle*. Nor is it contrary to the Grain of probability, to endeavour a Breed betwixt Hares and Coneys, an ordinary Cat and a Civet; The Head of which Species is by the resemblance of the Muscles no less than all Signs and Gestures of the Lyon. And between whom there remains less Difference in proportion than an *Irish* Greyhound compared with a Lap-Dog. Animals no less than Plants receiving notorious Changes from the Climates out of which they were at first transported, proving for the most part largest towards the Sun. Nor is it doubted but a Dog-Fox and an Ordinary Bitch will generate. As I heard the last Marquess of *Hamilton's* Father verify he saw in *Scotland*. Nor did those huge and strange-headed Deer, sent for Presents to King *James*, fail to Co-habit with Ours and have Young. Now he that would observe the Affinity in the Food and Bigness of Beasts and Birds, and put none but them together, I doubt not but in the Absence of their own kind they might easily be drawn to joyn.

One Day ruminating upon Pride, and the dismal Effects it draws upon Mankind, I had all the Postures and Evidences brought in, against those arraigned for this Diabolical Passion, acted before me by a Turkey-Cock. Who stood priding himself no less in the Sun and prosperities of the Spring than *Nebuchadnezzar* did on the Battlements of his Palace. From whence I began to conclude it Natural, and so not radically Evil, no more than An-

ger or Love. Therefore under the Notion of an Enquiry into the Advantages God hath given us above others; A perfect Knowledge of our own good Parts is so far remote from Pride, that it is rather a Spur to Virtue; and so only depraved, not invented by the Dévil, who with all his Chis-mistry is not able to convert the Seeds of a Natural Effect into the Root of Evil; though he hath perverted this, as many Things else into *Malignity against God*. The least of whose Beauty is sufficient to advance our Thoughts above our selves, in which Case, it is rather a Rapture, than a Sin.



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CHARACTERS, AND LETTERS, &c.



A Character of HONOUR.



HONOUR is one of the grand Impostures of the Earth; thro' whose false Splendor, *unadvised Ambition* is, as it were, Trepan'd out of its Life, Liberty, &c. No Folly transcending theirs, who esteem themselves only Happy in a vain Title, or Syllable; at the beginning pronounced by the Prince, and after reverberated by the Meager, Empty, and Hollow Eccho, of the insignificant Rabble; no less ready upon the Change of Fortune, to Murther, than Father all Marks of Desert; to those very particular ones, their own Indulgence

dulgence had informed. Opinion, being for the most part, printed in such blind Ink. as it hardly remains legible. to the Second Generation. The Merit of the first Proprietor becoming mortified by Oblivion, or quite dissipated, and lost in the Wilder Fields of a no less Numerous, than vitious Posterity. So remote from improving any Talents left them by their Ancestors, as like the improvident Usurer in the Gospel. they do not only expose them to Rust, and Cankers, but waste the Estate, with all other glorious Endowments in which they were wrapped.

The Promoter of their Family, becoming by this means, an Occasion of the Ruine of it. It lying in the Nature, no less than the Custom of Honour, to put as unreasonable an Excise on the Vices, as the Vertues of its Owners. I never thought it Prudence, or Discretion, to articulate over-severely on the worst of Modes I have had the Good, or Ill Fortue to be Born and Bred under; yet it seems to Cross the Grain of Wisdom, if not of Candid Charity, to Arraign as guilty of Absurdity, all we find in ordinary Practice abroad, though on the other side the Pale of Christianity. And for a particular instance; That, used amongst the *Turks*: where no Title but what belongs to the Emperour, is made Hereditary.

“ Honour being hardly managable within the
“ Compass of Decency, by any that are not perfect in the Steps that lead to it.” Splendid Epithets where there resides no real Ability in the Party to deserve them, Cheating the Beholders by an Expectation of more Vertue, and the Possessor with less, than his Parasites (a Vermin Capital Fortunes are infested withal) may have possibly insinuated into his formerly Suborned imagination. But to descend to a more exact Definition of Honour: It is a meer Ray or Beam darted from

from the Favour of a Prince, who in one Body contains the Abstract of all dilated Dignities. And the Reward of every Desert is either Real, or by him supposed in the Nature or Actions of those he thinks fit to advance: Amongst which none are more glorious than they in *Turkey*; where Worth is always found the Antecedent to every Reward. Those in Christendom, that relate wholly to the Passions, and Affections of the Donor, not appearing so Natural, but further remote from the purer and unsophisticated Elements of Majesty; than what is found inherent in the Party. The true Cause of Advancement amongst us, being, commonly so trivial, and foul, as for Shame, they forbore to recite it in their *Patent*. From whence, some may Conclude, those Disparities amongst Men proceed at first, like Hills and Dales, from the *Deluge of Pride*; so long a Succession of Government, hath poured upon the Face of the Earth. Courts by such Canting Terms advancing their particular Interest, which would be abated, were the Devourers, in an equal *Parallel* with those they feed on. The Rabble, for want of a more elated Prudence, imagining their Governours to proceed, like the Gyants of old, from some Diviner Extraction than their own. Not wise enough to apprehend, that Honour hath no Advantage, really, in it self, but what it is able to deduce from the lower Condition, and baseness of Others. All Titles, to Those relating to God Himself, as they were absent, before the Creation; So Reason informs us, they could not be Present now, were there no Creatures, endued with so much understanding, as to be able to pronounce them. The most reluctant Honour being Offuscated, and blinded in the Shades of Solitude. Wherefore, if it had a Name, it wanted an Owner, till something was made willing to promote it. No Age,

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ever represented it more Naked to the World, than This we live in. Whereas the Jews do in *Italy*, by the Ancient *Roman* Coynes, So, the Grave Visages of Twenty Five Bishops have been struck off and put upon many Thousand Presbyterians; whereupon the Image, and Superscription of the Primitive Church, is quite defaced, and obliterated, through the Impress they are exchanged for: which owns no worth, but from the Gravity of the First. Being it self, of no greater Antiquity, than *John Calvin*, who did not but with some Difficulty, as Boys do Gigs, whip this younger Government out of a Word, taught for many Ages to signify *Episcopacy* only; making it current in *Geneva*. Now, if it be no less frequent in the Practice of Men, that in the Dialect of the Scriptures to rob God of his Honour; why should any, but merely Mortal, place stability in it? Especially, since the Trast these earthly Tumours swell withal, is by the basest of, &c. (Villanies) render'd so perspicuous.



VALOUR and COWARDICE.

I SHOULD much wonder how Valour and Cowardice, both Strangers, if not contrary to the Practice of undistracted Nature, could pass so long without the *Errata*, in the Place-Book of Virtue and Vice: But that I find it, the Design of Policy, to advance, or abate the Credit of all things found useful or destructive to her own, or the general Utility: And, where she can bring

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in the least Colour for it to paint, what is necessary to commerce, with the grateful Approbation of Religion; and to render the contrary in the dark Sense, and black Characters of Hell. Allowing all Supports as decent and quadrating with the Beauty of Holiness, though above or against the Lights of Reason, if sound, any way requisite, to sustain Government. Of such force is Custom, that it is able, through the Assistance of Credulity, to stifle, and trample upon the Senses themselves.

Now, though it may be no Indiscretion in a Patient, to suffer himself for his Recovery, to be deluded by his Physician; yet out of a panique Fear, or effeminate Nicety, to swallow more Drugs, and in greater Quantities than is unavoidably necessary, may appear a Madness, arising from the more dreadful, than dangerous Phantasms mustered up by the Fumes of a formerly-suborned Melancholy; rather than the substantial Dictates of an unsophisticated Judgment, which a wise Man may retain, and feast himself with, though for Manners sake, and to avoid the Danger, no less than Shame, impending Singularity, he may seem to own the most universal Opinion.

Now to shew, how Policy, no less than Religion, imposeth upon frail Humanity, in both the fore-mentioned particulars (though to the Apprehension of Sense, absolutely repugnant one to the other) they are situated as near Damnation, that appear over-daring in the prosecution of private Revenge; as such who out of Remissness, and Fear, betray the Cause of their Country; in defence of which, is placed, under all Professions extant, the highest Step of our Duty to God and our Neighbour. Which cannot be denied to stand further remote in Nature, than what really concerns our selves: Found recorded in *Job*, by the Devil; a far antienter Philosopher than the so much

much venerated *Aristotle*. From whence we may conclude, " That Resolution and Dread instituted
 " by Nature at first, for the Vindication and
 " Safety of every respective Individual, are, since
 " Tyranny and Propriety have forced us into
 " Communalities, reduced by common consent of
 " Law, and Conveniency into a publick Stock,
 " for the preservation of all. So as we are suffered,
 " to own no more in reference to our selves,
 " than Prudence is able to filch out of the Treasury
 " of the State : and that upon no slighter a
 " penalty, than Law doth inflict : which found too
 " dim-sighted to penetrate further, than external
 " Evidence can reach ; Religion, whose Results, (and
 " those no weak ones) lie in Conscience, supplies the
 " place of a Diviner-Guard ; brandishing like the
 " Angel in Paradise, the flaming Sword of Hell :
 " Which operates more or less, upon the Affections,
 " proportional to the Tincture, received from Education.
 " Not seldom Proof (as we find in *Hereticks*) against the Dictates of Reason her self,
 " nothing being harder to be lost, or convinced of
 " Falshood than Opinions sucked in with the Nurses
 " Milk. And this may raise an Use of Caution,
 " in relation to what we call pusillanimity, and Valour.
 " Which in a natural and primitive Sense, signify only Evasion.
 " And where that will not serve in order to our own Preservation, a vigorous
 " and stout Resistance to the loss of Life it self as is
 " manifest in every Creature. in the absence of
 " Hope ; and therefore impossible to be found wanting,
 " in the pure and unsuborned Nature of Man.
 " And so in the primitive Construction incapable of
 " any Foreigner Interpretation, than what is deducible
 " from our own Judgment, without reference to Fame or Reward.
 " Terms unintelligible during the Original Felicity : And before the
 " Thirst after Generation had swelled the World,
 " into

into such an Ocean of Inhabitants, as could not be kept within the compass of Moderation, but by Mounds and Banks; in the making of which all things are employed that own the power to terrify or flatter the Rabble into Obedience, without bearing any nicer Respect, to single Individuals, than through evading, or over-ruling the Law. Power or Prudence is able to purchase to themselves, by mastering, flattering, or contemning publick Fame. After which, it may be sometimes less policy to run, than not to be too greedy, to give it welcome when it courts us: Opinion being a Bird, oftner caught by Chance, than Endeavour. Nor shall any one that carries her on his Fist, ever want Envy, or scratching by others. And he that hath but the Patience, to attend good or bad Report to the end of the Race, shall observe them like Cocks to change their odds: one unlucky Blow, being able to depress more, and draw a greater concurrence of Abettors to the other side, than Twenty as strong and probable Endeavours, without Success can possibly advance. Or, if this fail, the Gamesters together with what they strove for, will by the Hand of Time, be laid in Oblivion. Whereas the real Wounds, and sensible Inconveniences accruing from a too serious Attention, and exact Observances of the various Cadences of the *Trumpet of Fame*, subject to be put out of Tune, by the change of every Blast do not only exceed the Cure of the Chyrurgeon but all Endeavours to that of Wisdom it self. Nor hath Policy any cheaper Trash to load the opposite Scale withal, than Honour and Titles; which like Horse bells, only affect the Ear as Diamonds do the Eyes; increasing rather than lessening the Burthen of Life: which with its concomitance *Envy, Danger, and Jealousy* signifies nothing proportionable at least, to what the Purchase requires; seldom enjoy'd of the

the Owner long, without Controversy; unless by dying in possession he cuts off all contrary Claims. Wherefore such as have the Dexterity, to pass their Days, at the least Expence of Trouble and Conveniency, may be truly said, to husband Discretion best. Nor are they likely to be misled, in such a vast Number of Fools and Madmen, as are daily observ'd, to sacrifice their own Ease and Content to promote the Ambition and small Plots of others: Grounding their Hopes upon those, that have no Assurance themselves. But this runs so contrary to the Grain of Practice, as it may not unpossibly, set such Teeth on edge, as are able through Detraction, or Power, to blast the Author of this Advice.



*A Letter writ to dissuade Mr. —
from a Duel.*

SIR,

I Shall at this time conceal, what I apprehend of your Quarrel, and the Circumstances that did at first produce it: Lest I should fall into a Physician's Indiscretion, who coming to one labouring of a Fever, did consume the Time, in telling the Patient, the Causes of his Distemper were Drink and evil Company: Which though possibly true, could not but carry the Figure of a meager Impertinency, before the Party had his Cure; since no place is now left for prevention. And as Physick is oppos'd to the Defects incident to bad Diet, and Disorder: So Counsel hath been observed,

ved, to moderate and palliate, though not cure those of Indiscretion; arising for the most part from an Inexperience in the exact Knowledge of our own Fame, no less than that of others: And where it may be, or is situated, with the smallest prejudice to Conscience, or giving the least Interruption to the prospect of Self-preservation, the first Result in the Intention of Nature, and left as of greatest Intendment, to the Care of Prudence. From whence I have been taught, that it is possible, for Physick to be welcome, though distasteful; but that Counsel seldom meets any more favourable Construction than Scorn, from the Receiver, and an Opinion of presumption in him that ventures to give it; especially, if it meets not with a candid Nature: Which hoping to find in you, I shall so much transgress the Voice of Discretion, as to suffer my self in Love to become an Arbitrator, between the Honour and prudence of a Friend, so far, as to maintain, that such as animate you to a formal Revenge, do out of Forgetfulness, or Want of Religion, forbear to calculate the Danger, no less than Impiety, that for ever cleaves to such Hands as are found once polluted in Blood: And, that those violate the Dictates of piety, and Discretion. (by Wisdom esteemed the most considerable part of Manhood) that contradict it. For to use their own canting, (no where to be found in the Dialect of Antiquity) He hath given you an Affront; and such an one, as may not decently be passed by, without a formal Satisfaction; which is but the single and wild Opinion of some undergraduates in the Arts of living. Yet, admit it a Debt, due in the Court of Honour, may it not as well be discharged by your Friend or Servant, as your self? parties less agitated by Interest and passion, and therefore the likelier, to deal a Revenge so evenly, as he shall have as little cause to brag

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brag as you to repent. A thing you can never promise your self, if contrary to the Injunctions of God and the Examples of the most prudent People you proportion out your Satisfaction in the Field. Where you cannot but deliver into the Custody of blind Fortune, not only your Life but Estate: As justly belonging to Posterity, as ever your Ancestors made it yours. Which by this mad Knight-Errantry you hazard to undo. I am sure all wise Minds will quadrate with this. And if the Fools of the present Age, pretend to any Discoveries of Ways to Honour, new and untrod, by the Antients, let 'em follow them, to the farthest Extent of their Lives or Lunacy. Whilst you hearken, to the graver Advice of Reason. Which may inform you, he hath offer'd an Abuse already, and will you hazard upon equal Terms the receiving a greater? Indeed if a Requital had been endeavoured at the Instant it might have rendred you more excusable before God and Man: But that Opportunity omitted; it were more wrong to your Charity, than Vindication of Valour, in cold Blood to call back Revenge: As if a worse Christian upon Meditation, than when irritated by Fury and Passion. Neither is Honour to be purchased, in single and self-perswading Combats, because no Marks of them appear in Antiquity; where many are found Dead, but not one, to my Remembrance, upon so impertinent a Quarrel, as Words. Yet we may conclude, from the foul Expressions in Orators, that the Mouths of the Gentry were then none of the cleanest. He that consults former Histories, may find, that some have gained more Repute from a Retreat, than others could obtain by a Won-field. And what is a Retreat, I pray you, but a fine Word for running away? Fierceness being proper to Beasts, whereas a neat Evasion belongs peculiarly

to Men. Of which, I shall instance this, as now fresh in my Memory. A Gentleman lying, like you, under the Repute of an Injury, did meet his Enemy, and shot him with a Pistol stopped full of Dung, whereupon he cried he was slain, which set him farther back in the Opinion of the World, than his former vapouring had advanced him, when the Excrement the piece was loaden with, appeared to the Senses of the standers by. And for this, the Wit of it's Deviser was highly commended. Another return'd this Answer, with a like Success, to a younger Brother's Challenge; that if he could prove his Loss as great as his, should he kill or be killed, he would gladly accept it; otherwise he did not think it reason, to venture his Life, against one that did want Necessaries, and so might seek Death, no less out of Discontent, than Gallantry: Which himself, that wanted nothing, had no cause to do. All that remains, is but your Pardon for this Boldness, which I most seriously Desire. Remaining in the mean time, no less your faithful Friend, than,

Sir,

Your, &c.



• *A Letter to Mr. — in hope to dis-
swade him from going a Colonel
under Count Mansfield.*

S I R,

I Cannot but own it, for a high Presumption, to offer sudden and crude Conceptions in a Business where I presume, you have employed, not only your own, but the most serious Advice of your Friends. To the Abilities and Dignity of whom, though I am forced to give place. I may not justly be accounted behind them in affection to your self, or Affairs. Wherefore having received so great an Encouragement from your Commands, no less than a Stimulation from my particular Desire to serve you, I shall according to my small Experience, and the meaner Abilities I have found in me, to employ it to the best Labour, to inform you, *These corrupt Times* have rendred many things necessary to, the *German Wars*, are no way suitable to your Complexion, or Fortune, which your General, being a Stranger, cannot in probability advance, without offending his own, and sinning against an Article of Policy, and Nature. Nor shall you, though loaden with the highest Merit, render your Return more grateful to your *Natural Prince*: King *James* having always numbred Soldiers amongst those he esteems the worst of Men, and most formidable to his Person. The Expedition being by him rather connived at, than approved, out of Hope, by this means to facilitate the two Treaties of

of a Match with *Spain*, and the Restitution of the *Palatinate*; which obtained, (according to the Mode of *Pucilanimous Princes*) all Endeavours will be used to discharge the State of you and your Companions, as a Society most superfluous during Peace, the only Thing our King doth study to promote: To whose Ears a Drum is more terrible than Thunder, and the Report of a *Cannon*, than the Voice of God himself. Which, (if our *Church-men* may be credited) doth at this Day cry for Vengeance, against the Cruelty exercised upon *Christians*; especially from *England* by an unanimous Conscent chosen the Head of the *Protestant League*, till his Majesty had forfeited that Honour to the brisker Assistance given by the *French*. Now, can you think he should indulge Valour as a Vertue in another, when nothing is more manifest, than that he labours to expunge all Marks, or Occasions for it in himself, or any about him so far, as to answer my Lord—— when he came from the Wars, and desired to kiss his Hand, That he feared he would bite it, and therefore bad he should be muffled? Nor is it our King's Mode alone, (that never made use of Soldiers unless to slight them) but that of *Spain*, under whom the most deserving have died in Disgrace, if not by Poison. And amongst the Catalogue of those who stand written with great Characters in the Kalender of Fame, few or none, are registered for *Saints*, or Happy. It being past Controversie, that, no War can be called Just, which bears not a real Tincture of Defensative. And whosoever hath, or shall have enterprized the contrary, though his Name be never so richly enamelled on the Ring of Fortune, and himself placed on the Top of her Wheel, yet he is but the Scourge of God; and doth for the most part fall, when he thinks himself most capable of standing. Like *Charles the Fifth* (*Emperor and King of Spain*)

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Spain) that was by the Duke of *Saxony*, (a Family of his own raising) beaten over the *Alps* by *Torch-light*, and himself like the Sword of *Goliath*, wound up into a high Contempt of this World, and laid in a Monastery. The Sins and Oversights of God's Children are severely punished. But it is as true, That nothing costs dearer, than the Blood of his Saints. As may appear by such Horse-Leaches, as have been applied to his *Church*; from whence a double Quantity hath been drawn, by some unexpected Means. But if these Reasons savour too much of Theology, consider how impossible it is to do any thing, without the Love of the the *Common Soldier*, *Abroad*, and how unsafe he must needs be at *Home* that enjoys it; There being nothing more usual with Princes, than to be jealous of their Liberators. Manifest in *Byron*; who after he had set the Crown upon *Henry* the Fourth's Head, lost his own, out of a no more pious Reason, than that upon a contrary Provocation, he might have removed it to another. And to shew of what vile esteem Soldiers are in the Days of Peace; I will not say (though I have heard it) that the Judges, after the *Irish Wars*, were given it in *Charge*; yet can assure you, they hanged Soldiers for Faults, which, others (thought of more use in Peace) did scape, or obtained Pardon for. If so unhappy, as to receive a Wound in your Person or Credit, it remains yours, without the least Diminutions. If Honour, Custom shares it between your Country, and he that commands in Chief. Who, being a Foreigner, is not unlikely to rob you of your due; or by employing you on desperate Service, to *con-*
clude Fame and your Life together. I know, your Resolution is too well lined by *Philosophy* against the Storms of Danger, to admit a Parley with any Force but that of Reason; wherefore I forbear to paint them, lest I should seem to scare you with

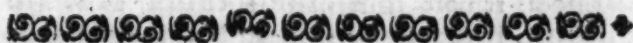
Fears, are for many Years left to be terrible to my self. Who have long since thought it Ridiculous, to court Sleep by Opiums, and protract Death by Cordials; which is but the Head of the same Species, being both the Effect of an unavoidable Lassitude. Yet though Life is imposed upon Mortals without, if not against their *Consent*, it cannot be denied the strongest Result of the highest Wisdom, to scituate your self so, as it may consume at the most Ease, and with the least Perturbation; which is not to be expected from such a flaring and intemperate a Course, as that of a Soldier: that can make choice of no Friend or Enemy, but what the State assigns him; or proportion his Pity or Justice, to his own Morality, but their Ambition and Jealousy, that command in chief. To whom in all things you are bound to obey, though contrary to the Grain of Prudence it self. That arbitrary Government you so much complain of at Home, being the best you can in Reason, expect to find in an Army abroad; where, the stress of Discipline lies more upon the Administration of Severity, than Justice. Such as are reported to list themselves under the *Black Prince of Darkness*, draw Articles before they consign their Blood; and have a Circle enchanted, with a *Power to protect them*: whereas a Soldier hath nothing to plead for, against actual Obedience, but the narrow Circumference of Protection, that lies in the Will of a General. To whom, the Vertue and Valour of his Officers is no less formidable, in relation to his particular Jealousies, than the Vices and Cowardice of his meaner Soldiers, are thought pernicious to Success in the Field. Wherefore no Prince deserves such honorable Attendance as ~~these~~ that Head their Armies themselves. *Generalissimo's* like *Stepfathers* carrying no other *Natural Affection*, but for the Advancement of their own *Glory*. So as they esteem

all

all inferiour Merit, as an Intrusion upon Theirs : It being ordinary with *Custom*, to award Fame to such as have least deserved it ; and asperse with Infamy, those of more glorious Merit. I confess Necessity cannot only abate the Edge of these Reasons ; but turn their Points against the Urger. Yet, since it is not impossible, but that the Elector may have miscarried in his Allegiance towards the Emperour, it cannot be indiscreet or impertinent to mind you of the Hazard and small Reward they commonly are capable of, that render themselves Arbitrators of a Foreign Difference ; I do comply with you, in all the *Pity*, *Prayers*, and *Contributions* can be offered for the Restitution of the Vertuous Lady *Elizabeth* ; yet shall reserve my *Person* to bestow upon the Preservation of my *Country*, in the Quarrel of which, I can only justify the spilling of my own *Blood*, or that of others. The universal Employment of a *Soldier*, not being legally made out to me, by any *Injunction* either Moral or Divine. The Practice of the *Switzers*, in relation to Foreign Quarrels, appearing as remote from *Christian Charity*, as *Natural Prudence*. It cannot be denied, but that Soldiers are necessary, during the distracted times of *Invasion* : So it is as true, That few *Callings* are looked upon with more Disdain, when a Nation enjoys an absolute Tranquility. Wherefore it can be no act of Discretion, to enrol your self, under a Profession, only in esteem, during the worser Ages, and not the best. Wherein Maims are considered rather as Marks of an inconsiderate and brutish Valour, than a temperate and advised Prudence. Were you thrown upon it, by the Iron Horns of an unavoidable *Compulsion*, or flattered into it, out of a more than probable Assurance of an Honourable Advantage ; something might be objected to the Prayers of your Friends, and contrary Desires of your Enemies : who may not unpossibly tempt

you into this uncertain Hope, out of a Design to rob you of all you really enjoy.

Consider your Education, how much a Stranger it hath been to the incommodious Treatment the Field doth afford: Out of whose Verge, it is more decent and safe, still to preserve your self, than, at any time to retire, though upon the highest Provocation; of whose Legitimacy, your Enemies from whom you part, will be the Arbitrators, and not your Friends, to whom you return. War being a turbulent and destructive Calling, with more Credit and Safety always neglected, than at any time forsaken. He that never fought, receiving a fairer Encomium from Charity, than a Captain that hath deserted his Post. Nor doth a Colonel stand for more than a single Wheel, in the Frame of an Army, where the General remains Heir to all Desert. — [The rest of this Letter is lost.]



A Letter to Mr. W. P.

THE continuance of your Acquaintance is the highest Pinnacle of my Ambition. And from whence I am not only tempted, but do willingly submit to the lowest of your *Commands*. In the pursuance of which, I came on purpose to meet you at B ——— loaden with the strongest Advice, so weak a Judgment is able to man-out. But I find your own Wisdom hath given me the Opportunity to spare my *English*; by discovering to you, without the help of a Prospective, or the dearer

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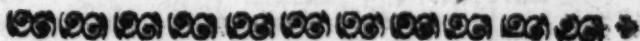
Prejudice of a Tryal, what I found verified through many Years Experience, viz. That honourable Persons, like too great Fires, may warm and comfort such as are content only to serve them at a Distance: but blast the Parts, and consume the Fortunes of those who are found to attend them in any nearer Relations. Who gain, for the most part like the Birds that follow the *Crocodile*, no richer Reward than the Reversions of their Teeth. It being usual with these Monsters in Nature, to esteem none capable of Desert, but such as Fortune or Baseness hath made necessary to their Vices or Power. The first of which is as much below the Breeding, as the other is the Candour of a Gentleman: To whom it is incongruous to leave the Honour he was born to, at the Foot of that Ladder he hopes to ascend by, to a greater. Neither, have they that are instrumental to their Rapin, a more noble Employment, than those Beasts reported of in the *Indies*; who hunt the prey for the *Lions*, and after by his strength they are subdued, must rest satisfied with what the Covetousness of their Master shall leave undevoured.

For my self, as none can with Affection look upon the Gulph that hath swallowed up his *Felicity*; So I remain in so high a Feud with greatness, as if I did not find [*Lord*] in my *Daily Prayers*, I should not name it (in relation to *Servant*) without *Detestation*. The which *Lord*, had I serv'd as I ought, the other would have been no more known to me than Leopards, Wolves and Tygers, seldom if ever seen by us, but in Grates and Pictures. Yet how manifest soever this Truth is, I am not so foolish my self, or think others so wise, as to esteem any *Precept* or *Example* strong enough to restrain the unsupported Ignorance of Young Men from falling into this Trap; baited with more Ease, though far less Assurance than Law, Physick, &c. For this

course often neglected, in which Hundreds perish for one that thrives; who is yet found to be more imperious than the Master himself. Since the powerful Word of God, assisted by the Rhetorick of Divines, is not of Efficacy sufficient to keep them from following Pride, Lust and Drunkenness, though Heil be assigned for the Conclusion. But, if you desire a more full, and elegant Prosecution of this Theme, I refer you to *Lucian*: Having already exceeded my first Intention, which was only to kiss your Hands, and in fewer Words, to assure you that I am,

S I R,

Your Servant.



Another to the Same.

S I R,

HAD you not assur'd me you were not Well, I should easily have guessed it my self, from the Commendation your Letter gave to mine.

Which cannot but be rather the effect of a Fever, than your Judgment. To which, though I am so highly obliged for the present, as to gain a more honourable esteem in your Fancy, than without the like Mediation, I could possibly have attain'd: Yet I do not only abhor this, but all Advantages else, that own the least Semblance of a Prejudice to you. So as I could not have been thus Romantick, but that the *last Line* prov'd a

Cordial

Cordial to the *First*; by expunging all Fear of Future Danger, in respect of your Health. And for *Frudence*, I find it by the Elegancy of your Style, and the Solidicy of Matter, so far rather increased, than diminished, as I am confident your Opinion is, by this time, alter'd in reference to my Desert: though I am willing to flatter my self, that your Love continues. But whether the Horse follows the Chariot, or the Chariot the Horse, Persons of Parts are found to make so great a Descent, which submit themselves to this Course of Servitude, that they waken the Admiration of Lookers-on, much more than the Apprehensions of those, that like me, have so apparently suffered in their particular Interests: It being impossible to imagine a greater Lunacy, than to cast away Time, Freedom, and Fortune after such, as so little regard it, that they esteem it a Reward sufficient for the most of their Servants, if they have an Opportunity to observe the Baseness of their Natures. For what is gotten by them, belongs rather to their own Impudence, or Importunity; than the Bounty or Goodness of their Masters: Since he that remains Defective, in one of these two Court-Virtues, shall be compell'd to make a Third of pure Necessity. Let a Man consume an Apprentiship with a *Citizen*: At the end of the Time, it is his own Fault if he be not able to live. But when a Tradesman (like one of his Majesty's Antique Statues) is taken out of a base Cellar or Vault, (no Prodigy in our Days) and set up at Court; It is his least *Care* to provide for his Servants, unless necessary to his Vices, or the Infirmities that proceed from them. Such being able to ride him where they please; either over their Fellows, or Strangers, by way of Terror or Disdain: or Curvet, and prance with his Complements, in token of Respect. They resembling for the most part Oranges, that yield nothing.

thing but upon squeezing. I confess, the Dependence on a Monster of this kind, may be of excellent use for Protection in these fatal Times, where Innocency is found too weak for Deceit; could it be obtained without a greater Loss. But as in a *Contrast* with the *Devil*, the first thing parted with, is *Hope of future Felicity*: So a *Secretary* must quit his Freedom or Employment; being tyed to so strict an Attendance, as his Lord is no more able to spare him, than his own Brains or Thumbs. By which the Slavery becomes so great, as it can receive no *Compensation* from *Profit*. Wherefore such as are wisest, retain only the Acquaintance of Great Men: whom I have observed to thrive better than their Menial Servants. It being usual with them, to bestow Benefits on those that least deserve. And to him they have injured by denying a just Reward, it is their *Mode* to become an Enemy. As I have found most certainly true, who am,

S I R,

Your-Servant,

POSTSCRIPT.

I Have sent you this to serve as a Black-patch or Foyle; to set out the Beauty of your *Virgil*. And therein you may observe the strength of Affection: which for your sake is able to raise in me the Enthusiasms of a Poet; from whose Inspiration, this Oracle is pronounced.

This

THIS Work is finish'd so, as no Supply
Can be expected from Posterity.
Nor could thy Author's Laurel match thy *Bays*,
Hadst thou appear'd with him in *Cæsar's* Days,
Yet he that this Translation dares to slight,
Must not admire to see a *Moor* wash'd white,
And chang'd to *English* Beauty: Losing none
Of what was Hers; but adding of his own.

If that our *Northern* Paint be not so good,
'Tis not thy Fault: Whose Pencil understood
No less than any *Roman's*. And this shall
Struggle for Fame with the Original:
And waste more Blood, and Ink, than in the Strife
Between those States who first gave *Homer* Life,
Which will be Justice. For he did undo
By writing them, what Wit entail'd Thee to
Like to an Elder Brother that is Curst
In all things else; yet priz'd for coming First.

But to conclude the Wishes of my Heart,
Oh that my Praise could equal thy Desert.



not found rarely to recoil into as great a contrary Extream. I confess, wise, constant, and compleat Servants may be had; but few such Husbands, whose Minds are no less altered by Marriage, than drunken Men are by Sleep; but become like them, weary and sick of what they formerly took Delight in; upon the Apprehension, That he which yokes himself to a Woman, forfeits his Prudence, no less than she doth hazard her Repute, who incircles a Man in her Arms before enchanted by the Priest, through Custom and Shame made far more necessary to you, than Men. Wherefore, finding that Time is uncessantly nibbling at Youth, and Beauty the Bait of your Trap; and that it is unlikely with no stronger Engines, to catch one that is wise; Be nimble, and lay hold on this that is rich. Who is confess'd none of the seven wise Masters; and therefore with more Ease to be governed. The Felicities of Marriage, perishing in the Conflict arising between Man and Wife, of equal Spirits and Understanding. It being impossible there should want Contests, where both lay Claim to a Capacity fit only to be obeyed. Which, if you have him, will by all be conceded on your side. So that, instead of being a Ward, (a Tenure every married Woman holds from the Award of her Maker) you shall be Guardian of the Person and Estate of your Husband. Now, in relation to other Things, upon the Score of which you may reckon stronger Felicities; they will be found, after Enjoyment, to vanish into Cyphers. Learning becoming as unsociable for Ladies, as half-witted Men are wilful and jealous; Rocks that the Softness of his Head gives sufficient Caution for; so that, under this Conjunction, you may, without Interruption, follow what Inclinations you please. Wherefore, if you resolve to Marry, no Husband is more proper; whose Folly you may exchange for

Wisdom, when you please. And to renounce it quite, were, besides, burying your Talent in the Ground, and robbing of the World, which you ought to leave as Rich as you found it: You should fall into the Condition of an old Maid, than which nothing is more despicable; who is acceptable in no Company. Not daring to come amongst Women, for Fear of declaring more Knowledge, than she can, with Reference to Honesty, own: Or approach Men out of the Danger of Contempt. The Moral of *Andromeda*, is a History of your present Condition. Where, the barren Rock she was tied to, is Virginity. The Monster that came to devour her, Time. And he reported to deliver her, some witty Spark, that perswaded her to take a Rich——, &c. to her Husband, might warrant the Access of one more acceptable. Oh, let him have this Honour, fair Lady, who is,

M A D A M,

Your Servants.*On a LOOKING-GLASS.*

TELL me, dear Glass, by what strange Art;
Thou bear'st her Image without breaking?
When the same *Form* does burst my Heart,
Just at the Instant I am speaking.

On

On another, which she said did Flatter.

BLAME not your Glass, that doth her Duty;
Nor can it flatter so much Beauty.
But for the rest, in Policy,
It shews them fairer than they be.
Since if *they saw* their Faces true,
This would be broke; and envy'd you.

Another.

JOIN with her Eyes, dear Glass, and both concur
To note more Worth in Me, and less in Her.

A S O N G.

THE Graces are, by Custom, bound:
Once in an Age, all to be found.
In one Creature: There to show.
All the Beauties that they owe,
And now having fix'd on Thee
Be not Proud: Since you may see;
Time allows them not to stay,
But to meet, and go away.
Yet whilst these Guests inhabit here;
You rate their Lodgings very dear:
If you suffer Me to take it,
I'll not break, when they forsake it;
The Terms of Fair, and Good, do not express
Thy Worth, no more than theirs, call Princes fine,
When deck'd in Diamonds, like the Stars they shine:
Nay,

Nay, I'll maintain their Folly to be less;
 Since such a Sight hath oft before been seen:
 But he that would inform a Shape like Thine,
 Must, like *Prometheus*, rob the *Powers Divine*.

On a Lady's PICTURE.

THOUGH this be drawn exactly forth,
 It doth no more retain her Worth,
 Than can the Shadow of a Rose,
 The sweet Perfume of one that grows.

Another.

BETWEEN her Mind, and this, there is that odds,
 As between *Man's* frail Workmanship, and *God's*.

*A Letter to Two Sisters, the one
 Black, the other Fair.*

LADIES,

IT is Design, and, I hope, no Presumption in me,
 To join you in One: That, besides the Oppor-
 tunity of presenting the highest of my Respects, I
 might comprize in a single Letter, the total Sum
 of all the Perfection extant in Womankind. Black
 and White being the unquestioned Original of that
 infinite Variety of Beauty, (the Mint of Nature,)
 through which is maintained her necessary Com-
 merce of Generation. And, in this equal Distri-
 bution,

bution, Fortune hath shewn no small Ingenuity (who is more Wanton and Inexorable. than Blind or Careless) in assigning. that of least Duration, the fewest Years. For if you did not wither alike, Art and Opinion (the Limners and Carvers of all Excellency.) would have tempted, if not constrained every one to serve and adore that Sister only, whose Beauty had survived. By which, sweet Variety hath been lost; and Perfection reduced into one Monarchy, which now march in your two glorious Regiments. To both which, I remain an equal Captive. Being,

Ladies, &c.

Beauty is writ in several Characters;
None but are skill'd in some, who finds out All?
Which votes them mad, do say, that this Man errs
Because his Choice is Black, or Short, or Tall;
Nature would have all pleas'd: And such as fall
Upon the meanest Features, are less learn'd:
The *Indian* Beauties are as plain discern'd
By those who know their Figure, as the *White*,
Nor can Expression render it so right.

As may force others to approve the *Text*,
Reason with *Taste*, and *Love*, should not be *text*.

*A Letter to—after the Death of
his LADY.*

SIR,

I KNOW, I need not mind you, that all Sublunary Things are Transitory: Dancing like the Atomes (the Ancient Philosophers imagined the World not only to be made of, but stuffed withal) between one Condition, and another. Life seeming to be lent, to keep Death in employment. And Generation, to serve only for the Production of Bodies ; that the fatal Sisters might not weave in vain, or want Creatures to vail with their Garments of Mortality. But it is time to give over, at least, to turn down a Leaf ; and refer the Inculcation of this Morality, till some fitter time ; for fear of falling into their Indiscretion, who are found to wake a sick Friend, by an impertinent Inquisition after his Condition, or the unseasonable Administration of a Direction which way to dispose of his Body. Since none can calculate his Ease better, than the Patient : “ Sorrow it self not “ being destitute of its Voluptuousness.” Which, hoping you will not, too far exceed : Give me leave to conclude, that Manners exacted this ; and Discretion no more, but to assure you,

I am, &c.

人

An EPITAPH.

STONE, so long as thou dost last,
 Let the Reader know thou hast
 The Dross of her, once own'd a Mind
 Contain'd the Worth of Woman-kind.
 But no more : Who speaks her Glory,
 Must have for every Dust a Story.



*A Letter to dissuade —— from
 marrying a Rich, but ugly and de-
 formed Old Maid.*

WHEN I heard at first, you went a Wooing
 to——I thought it a Trick put upon
 you by Enemies, but finding it seconded, and see-
 ing the fearful Examples of those, who out of
 Discontent, and a Desire to change their present
 Condition, are found to cast away themselves :
 I begin to take your Danger to Heart. And do
 here, in the Sincerity of Affection, offer my Hand;
 to stay the Tying of that Knot, with which you
 go about to strangle your future Felicity. For,
 though I confess the Party may not unpossibly be
 very rich, yet it is as likely, the things required
 to dead the Apprehension of such a loathsome
 Companion, will prove so chargeable, as in a
 short time, her Gold will be spent, and nothing
 left, but the foul Beast that brought it.

Yet

Yet suppose you find so much, as may bear the Expende of Mad-company, Whores and Drink, (wicked Cordials, though generally used, to correct such Poyson) can you divest Humanity so far, as to make her Partner in a Bed, is able to render you so much an Enemy to Womankind, as to exchange it for *Sodomy*? If not Bestiality it self? For though you may not be punished by Law, the Act will be severely condemned, and esteemed brutish, by all the rational part of the World; it not lying in the Gender or Kind, but Form, to render a Creature monstrous and abominable to the Nature of Commerce. — I am so charitable, (yet in Confidence of other Vertue, rather than her own) as to believe she is a Virgin, in reference to Man: Who in that Action, might with more Justice, be punished for a Desflowerer of himself, than her. Wherefore you will have no more Reason to brag of this Privilege, than he, that first descended into Hell. Of whose superlative Uglinefs (though her Body be so composed, as the Devil need not alter the best of her Features, to make her resemble the foulest of his Fiends; yet) it may be numbered amongst the Questions, least capable of Decision: Whether, that, or her Mind, be most crooked? And to cover this, (yet none of the worst of her Imperfections,) she is supported, like Tyranny, by Steel. From whence, her Breath is become so noisome, as no venomous thing can live, in her Presence: Nor any Person sick of the Mother, miscarry. Now what Effects her Embraces will work upon your self, may be guess'd by Grooms: — Who in a small time, come to out-stink the very Beasts they are conversant with. — And what is said, is so far from Hyperbolic, as it resembles Truth more than she does a Woman. Yet all this, is but a slender Security,

to

to warrant Posterity upon, should such a Monster confute Philosophy, in producing her like. For,

If Money be so prevalent, as to make you sell your Liberty; why may it not hire another, to become so much a Slave, as to do your Drudgery? Who, cannot be, upon serious Thoughts, thus singular; as to prefer, the absolute Possession of a Dung-Boat, before the having a Partner in a Tall Ship. But if so fond of Wealth, as to break through these Considerations: Teach her to cover her Face, and not salute your Friends. Or, if she must be kiss'd, (the strongest Compliment was ever used) Let her disrobe her——not possible to be more noisome, than her Mouth. If Prose be not tart enough, to wean you, from so childish a Resolution; for the Fear of Poetry desist: Which may make you the Subject of a Comedy. And guess by these Verses of a Friend, what Enemies may say.

CAN you but think, the ancient Blindness great,
When Men made Gods, of that which we make
Or wonder those by Nile, could offer Fat. [Meat?
And goodly Oxen, to an ugly Cat?
Yet you (no less advised) to a Witch
Will sell your Fate, in hopes of being Rich.
Who like the Idols, in a Pagan Feast,
Carries a Monkey's Face, upon her Breast,
Shadow'd with Shoulders: under which, doth stay
A Bonnet crouching, like a Hill at-Sea.
Nor may her Bosom fail of a Device,
To hatch an Egg into a Cockatrice.
Or turn Men *Atheists*, who believe no Elves
Can now be found, but what we make our selves.

Were

Were she in *India*, where they serve the Devil,
 Not out of Hope of Good, but Fear of Evil,
 They would adore her: Lest^r her Sun-like Nose
 Should burn, and smoke Tobacco, as it grows.
 Or, lest the *Venom* of her loathsom Breath,
 Might blow some foul Contagion o'er the Earth.
 Or, that the *Spaniards*, by her Malice taught,
 Might learn more Cruelty, than e'er they thought.
 Yet amongst all the People, worst misled,
 None ever took a Fiend into his Bed.
 Which proves, that Nature doth abhor your Deed
 In offering to a Dæmon, Human-Seed.
 And what will be your Issue, join'd with her,
 None can resolve you, but a Conjuror.
 For while she is in Labour, you may hear
 The Good-Wives shriek: and some Physician swear
 It is a Child. And that he finds in Writ,
 Such Births; before the Priest dares Christen it.

Now if this cannot move you, may your Task,
 Be to beget a compleat Anti-Mask.

A Letter in reference to a Coy Lady.

THOUGH I confess, The Lady you recommen-
 ded, may prove a Pleasure to others who
 are at leisure wholly to intend making Love: (No
 Hare being better provided of Muces and Shifts to

put

put off Followers than she) yet, so dull a Soul as mine, in the Apprehension of the Difference, between one individual Beauty and another, is still ready with the Mayor of *London*, to lose all the Pleasure of Hunting, in the insignificant (though perhaps to others Ears pleasant) Cry of the Hounds. Catching of Larks and Sparrows less chargeable and troublesome, being more acceptable and grateful to some Complexions, than Hawking at the Heron. The latter being too full of Splendour, Noise, Delays, and impertinent Complements for a Person, that like me, is not born with the Patience to run after a flying Beauty; or spend time in beating for that, another will find to my Hand, for a smaller Sum than may compence, the tearing my Repute, or burthening my Conscience with Vain and Fallacious Oaths and Covenants. In the Administration of which, she is as *Punſual*, as the *Calidonian Commissioners*.

Yet I cannot deny but that she is richly worth the Purchase, of any that own the Knack of such Amorous Zealots, as have the Patience to continue still whining, where they know, through the Conscience of their own Unworthiness, That they are not likely to be Heard. Making a sincere profession of Love and Respect, when their chiefest Intent is only to Plunder; What I fear, This Lady, is to seek of already; or else foully bely'd. None keeping their Avenues more strictly barred, than such as have been robb'd already in this kind. Wherefore having cast up by my self the whole Value of the Adventure; I find it no more than I can truck for, nearer Home, and with greater Ease and Convenience to my self.

Yet, before I break out into an Open Rebellion against so Sovereign and Absolute a Beauty, I will present her with this inclosed Petition. To which, if she gives not a satisfactory and full Answer, I
am

am resolv'd to break off all farther Address. And to proclaim her a Tyrant. And her Subjects absolved from their Oaths and Obedience. So, as for the Future it may be lawful for them, to enrol themselves under the Red and White Colours of any other Mistress they esteem more Debonair.

THE PETITION.

I Pray dispatch my Suit, or else Deny it;

For if I spend more Time, I dearly Buy it.

If you distrust my Truth, I do protest,

By that which binds Men most, I Love you best.

—It is not out of Fear, That I should Tell.

You never heard me Brag, when I did Well.

Or is't engage Me more, that you delay it?

None better knows the Grant, nor how to pay it.

Is it the Sin you fear, which none can Guess?

Cutting off Oaths, and Time, you make it Less.

Nay, 'tis no Fault in you to lessen Mine,

Better once Drunk, than still to thirst for Wine.

—Hath Nature made a Blot below your Zone?

My Love would cover  and count it None.

Have you a Servant that you think is true?

I have a Mistress too: And yet, Love you.

If you can add to these Objections more,

Pay Me for what is past; and I'll give o'er.

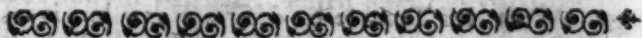
A CHARACTER on a Debauch-
ed Soldier.

HE carries no Sign of Reputation but in his Mouth; and that he suffers to run over, with tedious Stories of his own Valour: to justify which, he hath wished his Damnation so often, as it is now sure; rendring him incapable of any other *Peace of Conscience*, but what he finds in Drink, or the Operation of no Diviner Spirit, than that incites to Lust and Revenge; his Religion being so far of his own making, as he imagines God, like his old Host, best pleased by the largest Reckonings. With his Tongue he desires Wars, but is in Heart at *Peace* with all, but his Maker. He had rather be thought behind-hand for Money than Word: and will sooner satisfy an Enemy than a Friend, being readier to requite, what he receives in Anger, than Love; Injuries than good Turns. Rendring himself a Slave to Martial and Arbitrary Justice for a small Salary, under the improbable Pretence of freeing others. Nor dares this Gladiator, that rants so high in Taverns, and on the Ale-Bench, oppose any thing but *Patience*, to the highest Affront, a superiour Officer is pleased to put upon him. Though no *Papist*, he abhors the Church. And like some of our Reformists, carries no more Marks of a *Protestant*, than what is legible in *Perjury*, &c. yet brags more of his Whoring and Drinking, than any *Catholick* doth of his Good Works. Who it thus far Happy, that though he wants Faith to make him a true Saint, he owns not
so

Characters and Letters, &c.

so much Hypocrisy as to appear so. And therefore more capable of Repentance than those that *Plunder* and *Murder* others, under a secret pretence of honouring that God he openly prophanes. He brags much of his Scars, which truly examined, prove rather the Effects of Intemperance, than Marks of Valour: his Face bearing the hideous Impress of *Pots* and *Glasses*, received not in the Fields of *Mars*, but the easier-entred *Sconces* of *Bacchus*. Whose Discourse, though it travel'd still betwixt one besieged Place, or Leaguer to another, yet it was always tedious. And if you altered the Subject, his Understanding appeared *Proof* against all *Sense*. After whom followed this Epitaph.

At the *Saracen's* Head *Tom* pour'd in Ale and Wine,
Until his Face did represent the *Sign*.



To *Dr. Ch. Chaplain* to *W. E.*
of *Pem.*

S I R,

W Hilst it pleased you to Communicate with me in a Stile suitable to the Frailty of my Understanding, I took infinite content in the *Converse*; but since you have cloathed your Letters in the thundering and glorious Ornaments of Learning, I am not able to cope with you: wherefore let me implore your Favour so far as to lay these Advantages by, and not render your Love terrible to me, who did never question your *Power*, but own you in the highest sublimity the World hath (being

ing prompted by so much Desert) advanced you to. And on such Terms I may enjoy your Acquaintance, whereas other ways I shall be forc'd to take *Sanctuary* in a perpetual silence. Lest I should lose that little Reason I have, in seeking to comprehend the infiniteness of yours. And to avoid any mis-information of the Quarrel at ——— between my Lord ——— and the E. of C ——— It was really thus. The King having, though against his Will, prevail'd with my Lord to go into the West, by reason of his Interest in those Parts, with the other Counsellours of State, in hope to facilitate the Payment of the five Subsidies voted, but not given by *Parliament*, and now Christened a *Royal Lone*: The Commissioners being by the Fire, a Dispute arose between the two former Lords, Whether it was possible for one who had never been upon the Place, to speak and understand *French* perfectly. The L ——— of ——— who you know never set Foot out of *England*, maintain'd the Affirmative with so much Eagerness, that the other, who had not only more Reason on his Side, but the Approbation of the Company, said, My L ———'s best Argument was *Noise*; a Speech my L ——— replied was undecent for an E ——— of Complements. And upon this the other return'd the *Lie*. To which my L ——— made such a manual Answer, as the L ——— C ———, being penn'd up in his Clothes, fell down; whereupon they were parted, and reconciled; Shame, and the Title of his Majesty's gravest Privy Counsellours facilitating the Composition. It is already arriv'd at the *Spanish* Ambassadors; who, according to his facetious Mode, put it upon the Score of our *English* Valour; which the gravest Relations cannot make them to forget. I am still haunted for Verses from our *French* Coriot, who is resolv'd to print his Book in *English*: Those I made are these.

WHAT dost thou mean, my Friend, in this
 Bad Time,
 To write of Virtue, when 'tis thought a Crime
 Not to be Vicious? such a Book would sell,
 Could prove all Damn'd did offer to do well :
 Or find that Pimping is a lawful Trade,
 Because that *Sarah* brought her Lord a Maid :
 Or vindicate what *Origen* hath cast,
 That *Court* and *Hell* shall meet in *Heaven* at last :
 Or prove that Incest is a Venial Sin,
 Because that *Lot* defil'd his nearest Kin.
 O, could'st thou this maintain, then thou should'st be
 Rais'd to High Place for thy Divinity.

Then lose no Time, let Goodness take her Chance,
 Whilst you comply with Sin and Ignorance.

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ON



O N A
C O O K.

A COOK is a Bawd to the Mouth; that kills his own Stomach; to quicken his Master's. Who lives like a Bear, by licking his Fingers. Before a Feast, he, in his white Sleeves and Apron, resembles the Ephod of a Priest; and seems to be preparing rather a Sacrifice, than a Supper. In which, the grand Sallat may justly be thought to personate an Idol. His Office is a Representation of Hell; where all Sorts of Creatures are tormented in Flames, to satisfy the depraved and various Nature of the Tastes of Men. Whose Pleasures, and highest Contentments, are no other ways to be compleated, but at the Prejudice of their Fellow Animals: Over which, Reason, not Strength, hath purchased them the Sovereignty, so much abused in this World, as may render the worst of Punishments just in the next. His Profession something quadrates with Heraldry: Varying no less in Sawces, than they do in Colours, Bends, Fesses and Metals; and are as much puzzled about marshalling the Dishes, and calculating the

Precedency, at the Table, of a Woodcock or Widgeon, a Gull or Gosling, as the other are in placing Lords and Ladies. But this, and all the rest of his Learning and Industry, concludes as I do, in an *Excrement*, which I wish in his Mouth. And so, leave him to blaspheme in the *Kitchen*; or cooling his Tongue in the *Cellar*.



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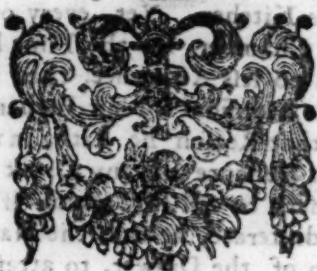
A CHARACTER of an
H O S T.

AN Host is one who thrives with Drinking, and grows rich by Entertainments. He is of vast Acquaintance, but can number few Friends; besides those resulting from Travel, or Necessity. His Conversation is alike to all Men, that he may gain the more Money: Being equally Hospitable to every Religion he can save by: Giving his Guest the best Content o'er Night, out of Hope to please himself in the Morning. The Government of his House is Tyrannical, all Taxes being Arbitrary, at the Will of his Wife, who sits Regent in the Kitchen. Yet, every one that enters, takes his Chamber, for the Time he stays, as his own, with no less Assurance, than Don Quixot did the whole Mansion for an Enchanted Castle. He ventures, that Reason he hath, in all Companies. And, in Defiance of any Drink the weary Traveller pleaseth to call for, which if said to be mingled, or adulterate, he calls the Name of God, and the Person of the Drawer, to attest the contrary. The Sign is the Scheme, by which you may take the Ascendant of his Understanding: And his Half-Peck the Measure of his Conscience; of which

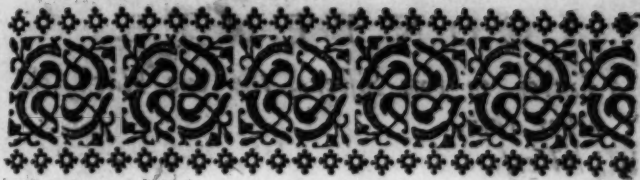
which his Hostler is Chancellour, and keeps the Key: Making no more of Cheating a Stranger's Horse, than his Mistress doth in Over-reaching both. If her Husband be grown into his perfect Symmetry, his Belly bears the exact Proportion of the biggest Jugg: And his Face, of that in the First Edition of Fryar Bacon's Works. He suits his Discourse as Fiddlers do their Songs, to the Ears of the Hearers: Chusing rather to offend Truth, than his Company. And, in case any ride double, he proclaims them Man and Wife; as far more willing to foment Bawdry, than foul two Pair of Sheets. He is seldom far out of the way, tho' drunk or hang'd: The first being as near the Road of his Profession, as the latter is that of his Desert.

Youth, Wit, and Beauty, like a painted Sign,
May stay a Stranger; but 'tis sprightly Wine,
And decent Welcome, make him 'light and Dine:
For, who will pass his Time in such a Place,
Where nought appears, of Moment, but a Face?

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CON-



C O N T E N T S.

THE Preface.

*An Essay on such as condemn all they
understand not a Reason for.*

*An Essay upon Prov. viii. 30. Give me nei-
ther Poverty nor Riches.*

A Contemplation of Adam's Fall.

*Sundry Conjectural Paradoxes concerning Rea-
son, Learning, &c.*

A Character of Honour.

Valour and Cowardice.

*A Letter writ to dissuade Mr.----- from a
Duel.*

*A Letter to Mr.----- in hope to dissuade him
from going a Colonel under Count Mans-
field.*

*A Letter to Mr. W. P. concerning Depen-
dences upon Great Men.*

----- Another to the same Person.

*A Copy of Verses to----- who had translated
Virgil into English.*

A Letter perswading ----- to marry.

Verses upon sundry Occasions.

A

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A Letter to two Sisters, the one black, the other fair.

With Verses.

A Letter to ----- after the Death of his Lady.

An Epitaph on-----

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With Verses to the same Effect.

A Letter in reference to a toy Lady.

The Petition.

A Character on a debauch'd Soldier.

A Letter to Dr. C. H. Chap. to W. E. of Pem.

With Verses.

On a Cook.

A Character of an Host.

With Verses.

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The End of the First VOLUME.

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